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THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE

INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR,

TO THE

DISSOLUTION of the Preſent PARLIAMENT.

ADORNED WITH PLATES.

IN FOURTEEN VOLUMES.

BY JOSEPH COLLYER,
Author of the NEW SYSTEM OF GEOGRAPHY,
in Two Volumes Folio.

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THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CHAP. VI.

RICHARD I.

Surnamed COEUR DE LION.

The Maſſacre of the Jews at his Coronation. The King's Preparations for the Cruſade. He ſets out on that Expedition, and arrives at Sicily, and afterwards at Cyprus, with his Tranſactions in thoſe Iſlands. His Arrival in Paleſtine, and heroic Actions there. The Diſorders in England during his Abſence. He leaves Paleſtine, and is confined in Priſon in Germany; but is at length ranſomed, and re-

turns to England. His War with France; his Death and Character.

RICHARD ſucceeded to the throne without oppoſition. His compunction for his undutiful behaviour to his father was ſo durable, as to influence him, after his ſucceſſion, in the choice of his miniſters and ſervants. Thoſe who had ſeconded him in his rebellions againſt ſo good a parent, inſtead of being raiſed to the truſt and honour they imagined they had reaſon to expect, had the mortification to find, that they were in diſgrace, and that he hated and deſpiſed them; while Henry's faithful miniſters, who had oppoſed all the enterprizes of his ſons, were received with open arms, and were continued in the offices they had with honour diſcharged for their former maſter.

In order to atone for his want of duty to one parent, he endeavoured to ſhew it to the other, by releaſing Eleanor, the queen dowager, from her confinement, and entruſting her with the government of England, till his arrival in that kingdom.

Having ſettled the affairs of Anjou and Guienne, he repaired to Normandy, and was abſolved at Seez, by the archbiſhops of Canterbury and Rouen, from his excommunication for taking up arms againſt his father; after which he was inveſted with the ducal ſword and banner, and received the homage of the Norman nobility. Upon which occaſion, he diſplayed

played his generosity in several acts of favour. His bounty to his brother John was profuse, and rather imprudent. Besides, confirming him in the possession of four thousand marks a year, bestowing on him the county of Mortagne in Normandy, and marrying him to Avisa, the daughter of the earl of Gloucester, by whom he inherited all the possessions of that opulent family, he conferred on him the whole estate of William Peverell, which had escheated to the crown; he delivered to him seven earldoms, Cornwall, Somerset, Devon, Dorset, Nottingham, Derby, and Lancaster, and even put him in possession of eight castles, with all the forests and honours annexed to them.

The king acted from the beginning of his reign, as if he had been solely raised to the throne for the relief of the Holy Land; and his zeal being communicated to his subjects, broke out in London on the day of his coronation, when they attacked a much less dangerous enemy than the Saracens, and engaged in a slaughter, attended with immediate profit. The Jews, on account of their religion, were beheld with little less indignation than the Mahometans. They had amassed great riches, by lending money on exorbitant interest; and the monkish writers represented it, as a great stain on Henry's wise and equitable government, that he carefully protected this infidel race from all insults and injuries; but the zeal of Richard afforded the populace a pretence for venting their resentment against them. Richard, immediately after his arrival, was

crowned at Weſtminſter Abbey, when the nobility and prelates took the oath of fealty to him. He had iſſued an edict, prohibiting the appearance of the Jews at his coronation; but ſome of them bringing him large preſents, approached the hall in which he dined; but being diſcovered, were expoſed to the inſults and abuſe of the by-ſtanders, which obliged them to fly; and the people purſuing them, a rumour was ſpread, that the king had iſſued orders to maſſacre all the Jews. A command ſo horrible and inconſiſtent with humanity, the prejudices of the people rendered ſo agreeable, that it was inſtantly executed on all who fell into their hands. Thoſe who ſtaid at home were expoſed to equal danger; the populace, moved by rapacity and a bloody zeal, broke into their houſes, which they plundered, after having murdered the owners: where the Jews barricaded their doors, and boldly defended themſelves, they ſet the houſes on fire, and ruſhed through the flames to gratify their thirſt of blood and plunder. The licentiouſneſs of the city mob, which the ſovereign power could with difficulty reſtrain, was then continued on the houſes of the rich citizens, who, notwithſtanding their being Chriſtians, were next attacked and plundered, till wearineſs and ſatiety at laſt put an end to the diſorder: yet when Glanville, the juſticiary, was empowered by the king to find out the authors of theſe crimes, ſo many conſiderable citizens were found to be involved in the guilt, that it

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was thought moſt prudent to drop the proſecution, and very few ſuffered on this occaſion.

The diſorder did not ſtop at London. The inhabitants of the other cities of England hearing of this ſlaughter of the Jews, imitated the dreadful example: in York, five hundred of thoſe people who had retired into the caſtle for ſafety, finding themſelves unable to defend it, murdered their own wives and children, caſt the dead bodies over the walls upon the populace, and then ſetting fire to the houſes, periſhed in the flames. The gentry of the neighbourhood, who were all indebted to the Jews, filled with joy, ran to the cathedral, where the bonds were kept, and made a ſolemn bonfire of thoſe papers before the altar. The compiler of the annals of Waverley, in relating theſe events, ſays, Mr. Hume bleſſes the Almighty for thus delivering this impious race to deſtruction. Thus was the coronation of this king attended with the moſt horrid ſcenes of deſolation and ſlaughter.

As Richard reſolved to begin his reign with entering on the cruſade, he was determined to uſe every means to procure the treaſures neceſſary for the ſupport of ſuch a diſtant expedition. His father's treaſure amounted to above a hundred thouſand marks, and he reſolved to augment that ſum by every expedient, however pernicious it might be to the people or himſelf. He put to ſale the manors and revenues of the crown; the offices of greateſt truſt and power became venal; the poſt of chief juſticiary, in whoſe hands was lodged the execution

cution of the laws, was ſold to the biſhop of Durham for a thouſand marks; and the ſame prelate bought the earldom of Northumberland for his life. Many of thoſe who were engaged to join in the cruſade, having repented of their vow, purchaſed the liberty of violating it; and Richard, who was in leſs need of men than of money, on thoſe conditions, diſpenſed with their attendance. Prompted by the hopes of fame in a war againſt the infidels, he was blind and deaf to every other conſideration; and, on ſome of his wiſeſt miniſters objecting to his thus diſſipating the revenue of the crown, he anſwered, that he would ſell London itſelf, could he but find a purchaſer. So negligent was he of the honour and future intereſt of the crown of England, that he ſold the vaſſalage of Scotland, together with the fortreſſes of Roxborough and Berwick, for ſo ſmall a ſum as ten thouſand marks, and agreed for that ſum to accept the homage of the king of Scotland, merely for the territories that prince held in England. All ranks and ſtations among the Engliſh were, indeed, oppreſſed by numerous exactions: in order to extort money from them, menaces were employed both againſt the innocent and the guilty; and where any perſons were rich, againſt whom no pretences could be found, he obliged them, by the fear of his diſpleaſure, to lend him ſums which he was ſenſible he would never be able to repay.

Though Richard thus ſacrificed every intereſt and every conſideration, to the ſucceſs of this ſuppoſed

ſuppoſed pious enterprize, his conduct had ſo little the appearance of ſanctity, that Fulk, curate of Neuilly, who, from the merit of being a zealous preacher of the cruſade, had acquired the privilege of ſpeaking the boldeſt truths, adviſed him to get rid of his notorious vices, his pride, avarice, and voluptuouſneſs, which he termed the king's favourite daughters. "You adviſe well, replied Richard, "and I hereby diſpoſe of the firſt to the "templars, of the ſecond to the benedictines, "and of the third to my prelates."

Richard's next care was to provide for the adminiſtration of the realm during his abſence; and to prevent any attempts to obtain the crown, he obliged prince John, and his natural brother Geoffry, to ſwear, that neither of them would enter the kingdom till his return; and yet, before his departure, withdrew his prohibition. In ſettling the adminiſtration, he purſued the dictates of his own caprice, againſt the advice of the nobility, and the ſenſe of the whole nation, leaving Hugh, biſhop of Durham, and Longchamp, biſhop of Ely, juſticiaries and guardians of the realm. The latter was a Frenchman of mean birth, who, by his addreſs, had inſinuated himſelf into his favour: he had before created him chancellor, and had engaged the pope to inveſt him with the legatine authority, that both the civil and eccleſiaſtical power being centered in him, he might be the better able to ſecure the public tranquillity. Mean while all thoſe of a military and turbulent diſpoſition flocked about the king, impatient

impatient to diſtinguiſh themſelves againſt the infidels.

We have already given a conciſe account of the origin of the cruſades, and of the firſt expeditions againſt the infidels, who poſſeſſed the Holy Land*, and it will now be proper to give a general view of the progreſs of the cruſades till the preſent expedition. Alexis Comnenus, the Greek emperor, was extremely aſtoniſhed at ſeeing his dominions ſuddenly overwhelmed by ſuch an inundation of licentious barbarians, who, though they pretended friendſhip, deſpiſed his ſubjects, who were diſtinguiſhed by their politeneſs and ſkill in the arts, as being unwarlike, and deteſted them as being heretical. He endeavoured by all the arts of policy to divert the torrent; but while he careſſed and behaved with extreme civility to the leaders of the cruſade, he conſidered them as more dangerous than open enemies; and having ſafely landed them in Aſia, entered into a private correſpondence with Solimon, emperor of the Turks, and practiſed every inſidious art to diſappoint their enterprize, and diſcourage them from making them engage in ſuch deſtructive migrations. On the other hand, exceſſive fatigue, the change of climate, and the ſword of a warlike enemy, deſtroyed them by thouſands. Their bravery and zeal, however, carried them forward. After an obſtinate ſiege they took Nice, the capital of the Turkiſh empire; they defeated Soliman in two

* See vol. I. pag. 212.

great

great battles, and broke the force of the Turks, who had held the country in ſubjection. The ſultan of Egypt now recovering his former authority in Jeruſalem, he offered, that if they came unarmed, all Chriſtian pilgrims might viſit the holy ſepulchre: but his offer was rejected, and they demanded, that he ſhould deliver up the city, and on his refuſal, took it by aſſault, after a ſiege of ſix weeks, and put all the garriſon and inhabitants to the ſword: no age or ſex was ſpared, and the ſame blow killed the infant at the breaſt, and its mother on her knees imploring mercy: even ten thouſand perſons, who, on being promiſed quarter, had ſurrendered themſelves priſoners, were butchered by their ſavage conquerors in cold blood. The ſtreets of Jeruſalem were covered with the dead, and every enemy being ſlaughtered, the triumphant cruſaders, turned with ſentiments of humility and ſorrow towards the holy ſepulchre, and throwing aſide their arms, drenched in blood, walked bare-foot, and bowing low to the ſacred monument; they then ſung anthems to their Saviour, who had on that very ſpot purchaſed their ſalvation by his agony and death; and their devotion, enlivened by the preſence of the place where he had ſuffered, ſo overcame their fury, that they melted into tears, and ſeemed to be poſſeſſed of every ſoft and tender ſentiment. To what ſtrange inconſiſtencies may human nature be brought by an unnatural mixture of cruelty and ſuperſtition! This remarkable event happened on the fifth of July 1099, and was followed by

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their chuſing Godfrey of Bouillon, king of Jeruſalem, after which many of the Chriſtians and nobles ſettled in the conquered provinces.

The Turks, though over-powered by the immenſe inundation of Chriſtians in the firſt cruſade, after the torrent was paſſed, reſumed their courage, and attacking on all ſides the ſettlements of the Europeans, reduced theſe adventurers to great difficulties, and obliged them to apply again for ſuccours from Europe. Upon which the emperor Conrade, and Lewis VII. king of France, made another cauſade, in which there periſhed above 200,000 men; and thoſe princes, after loſing ſuch immenſe armies, and ſeeing the flower of the nobility fall by their ſide, returned into Europe.

At length Saladin, a prince of great bravery and conduct, having ſeated himſelf on the throne of Egypt, extended his conqueſts over the Eaſt, and finding the eſtabliſhment of the Chriſtians in Paleſtine, an obſtacle to the progreſs of his arms, reſolved to ſubdue them. Taking advantage of the diſſentions which prevailed among the champions of the croſs, he invaded their frontiers with a great army, and in 1187 gained a complete victory over them at Tiberias, which almoſt annihilated the force of the already languiſhing kingdom of Jeruſalem. Cæſaria, Sidon, Berytus, Jaffa (the ancient Joppa) and many other towns and caſtles of conſiderable note, were in leſs than three months ſurrendered to Saladin and his lieutenants. That prince at length laid ſiege to Jeruſalem, and at firſt refuſed to grant the inhabitants

bitants any capitulation, declaring, he would take the town by ſtorm, as the cruſaders had taken it from the Mahometans. But perceiving that they derived freſh courage from deſpair, he allowed them to purchaſe their lives and liberty with ten biſants of gold for every man in the city, five for every woman, and one for every child. In conſequence of this agreement, 14,000 were made ſlaves; and all the others who had paid the rate, were ſafely conducted to Tyre and Antioch, which yet remained unſubdued. The only offence given by that prince or his army in the taking of Jeruſalem was, that a large gilded crucifix, erected on the top of the church of the hoſpital, was pulled down by the ſoldiers, dragged in the dirt, ſpit upon, and, as ſome writers ſay, whipt, through all the ſtreets of the city for two days together. Abulfeda, an Arabian hiſtorian who was then living, ſays, that on its being thrown down, a louder ſcream of lamentation was raiſed by the Chriſtians, than the Muſſulmen had ever heard before from that people, on any other occaſion. It ought however to be obſerved, that theſe inſults were not deſigned againſt Chriſt, but againſt the ſuperſtitious and idolatrous worſhip of croſſes which they abhor. Saladin had the humanity to permit all the ſick in the hoſpital at Jeruſalem to remain there in quiet, till they ſhould die or recover, and appointed ſome knights belonging to that houſe to attend upon, and nurſe them, though he was not bound to do it by the

capitulation. Thus was Jeruſalem recovered by the Mahometans in the year 1187.

The weſtern Chriſtians were ſtruck with conſternation, at receiving the dreadful news of the loſs of Jeruſalem, and the general cry was, that they were unworthy of enjoying an inheritance in heaven, who did not endeavour to recover from the dominion of the infidels the inheritance of God on earth.

The emperor Frederic, at the head of 150,000 men, collected from Germany and the northern ſtates, had already marched towards Paleſtine; but after having ſurmounted every obſtacle, and penetrated into the borders of Syria, he was ſeized with a mortal diſeaſe, and died. His army, under the command of his ſon Conrade, reached Paleſtine; but was ſo diminiſhed by fatigue, famine, ſickneſs and the ſword, that it ſcarce amounted to 8000 men, and was unable to make any progreſs againſt the great power, valour and conduct of Saladin.

The repeated calamities attending the cruſade, now induced the kings of England and France, to proceed to the Holy-Land by ſea; to take proviſions with them, and by means of their ſhips to preſerve an open communication with their own kingdoms. They appointed to rendezvous in the plains of Vezelay, on the borders of Burgundy, where the two armies being arrived on the twenty-ninth of June 1190, their united forces amounted to 100,000 men. The two kings there repeated their promiſes of friendſhip; pledged their

their faith not to invade the dominions of each other during the cruſade; mutually exchanged the oaths of all their barons and prelates to the ſame effect, and ſubjected themſelves to excommunication, ſhould they ever violate this ſolemn engagement. Then ſeparating, Philip marched towards Genoa, and Richard towards Marſeilles, in order to meet their fleets, which were appointed to rendezvous in thoſe harbours. They put to ſea on the fourteenth of September, and about the ſame time were forced, by ſtreſs of weather, to land in Meſſina in Sicily, where they ſtayed all the winter.

Richard and Philip were at the ſame time rivals in power, and competitors for glory; they were of the ſame age and inclinations; and that emulation which, had they then been employed in the field againſt the common enemy, might have ſtimulated them to martial exploits, during the preſent repoſe, excited quarrels that had a fatal tendency. Haughty, ambitious, and brave, they were inflamed by the leaſt appearance of injury. Richard, who was unpolitick, undeſigning, and violent, on every occaſion, laid himſelf open to the deſigns of Philip, who being provident and deceitful, did not fail to take every advantage againſt him; and thus that harmony, that was neceſſary to the ſucceſs of their undertaking, was entirely broken.

William II. the laſt king of Sicily and Naples, had married Jane, Richard's ſiſter; and dying without iſſue, had bequeathed his dominions to his aunt Conſtantia, the only

legitimate deſcendant of Roger, the firſt ſovereign of thoſe ſtates, who had been honoured with the royal title. This princeſs had been married to Henry VI. the reigning emperor; but Tancred her natural brother, taking advantage of Henry's abſence, had obtained poſſeſſion of the throne, which he maintained by force of arms againſt all the efforts of the Germans. Theſe cruſaders naturally filled him with apprehenſions, and he knew not whether he had moſt reaſon to dread the French or the Engliſh monarch. Philip was engaged in a ſtrict alliance with the emperor Henry VI. and Richard was diſguſted by his rigorous treatment of his ſiſter the queen dowager, whom the Sicilian prince had confined in Palermo, on account of her having oppoſed his aſcending the throne. In this exigence Tancred reſolved to pay his court to both theſe formidable princes. He obſerved to Philip, that it would be highly improper for him to interrupt his glorious enterprize againſt the infidels, by making any attempts againſt a Chriſtian prince. He ſet queen Jane at liberty, and even concluded an alliance with Richard, who agreed that his nephew Arthur, the young duke of Britanny, ſhould marry one of Tancred's daughters.

Before theſe terms of friendſhip were ſettled, Richard, jealous both of Tancred and the inhabitants of Meſſina, took up his quarters in the ſuburbs, and having ſeized a ſmall fort, which commanded the harbour, kept himſelf on his guard againſt their enterprizes. The citizens taking

taking umbrage at this, mutual inſults and attacks paſſed between them and the Engliſh: Philip, whoſe troops were quartered in the city, had a conference with Richard, to accommodate the quarrel. But while the two kings, who met in the fields, were engaged in diſcourſe on this ſubject, a body of thoſe Sicilians appeared to be drawing towards them; and Richard with a body of his troops, puſhed forward, in order to enquire into the reaſon of this extraordinary movement. The Engliſh, enflamed with former animoſities, wanted but a pretence for attacking them, they therefore chaſed them off the field, drove them into the town, and entered with them at the gates. Richard made uſe of his authority to prevent their maſſacring and plundering the defenceleſs inhabitants; but in token of his victory, ordered the ſtandard of England to be erected on the wall. Philip, conſidering the city as his quarters, ordered his troops to pull down the ſtandard: but Richard ſent to let him know, that though he himſelf was willing to remove that ground of offence, he would not permit it to be done by others; and if the French king attempted ſuch an inſult, it would be attended with the effuſion of blood. Philip, ſatisfied with this kind of haughty ſubmiſſion, recalled his orders, and the difference appeared to be accommodated, though the remains of rancour and jealouſy ſtill ſubſiſted in their breaſts.

Tancred, who wiſhed for his own ſecurity to inflame their mutual hatred, employed an artifice that might have been attended with fa-

tal conſequences. He ſhewed Richard a letter that appeared to be ſigned by Philip, which he pretended was delivered to him by the duke of Burgundy, in which that prince deſired Tancred to fall upon the quarters of the Engliſh, and promiſed to aſſiſt him in putting them to the ſword. Richard, gave credit to the information; but complained of this treachery to Philip, who denied the letter, and charged Tancred with forgery and falſehood, on which Richard appeared to be entirely ſatisfied.

It was now propoſed to obviate future differences by a ſolemn treaty. But this ſtarted a new diſpute, in which the honour of Philip's family was deeply concerned. Richard, when only heir to the crown, had ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on his being allowed to marry Alice of France; but after his having aſcended the throne, he no longer mentioned that alliance; but prepared to eſpouſe Berengaria, the daughter of Sanchez, king of Navarre, with whom he became enamoured during his ſtay in Guienne; and queen Eleanor was daily expected to arrive at Meſſina with that princeſs. When Philip, therefore, renewed his application for marrying his ſiſter Alice, Richard gave him an abſolute refuſal. It is aſſerted by ſome hiſtorians, that he was able to produce ſuch convincing proofs of that princeſs's infidelity, and even of her having had a child by his father, that her brother deſiſted from his application, and choſe to conceal in oblivion the diſhonour of his family, and permitted Richard to give his

his hand to Berengaria, after which he ſet ſail for the Holy-Land.

Richard waited ſome time for the arrival of his mother and bride; and when they joined him, ſeparated his fleet into two ſquadrons, and ſet ſail. Queen Eleanor returned to England, but his bride, and his ſiſter, the queen dowager of Sicily, attended him in his expedition.

On leaving the port of Meſſina, the Engliſh fleet met with a violent tempeſt; and the ſquadron in which the two princeſſes were embarked, was on the twelfth of April, 1191, driven on the coaſt of Cyprus, and ſome of the veſſels wrecked near Limiſſo in that iſland. Iſaac, who governed Cyprus under the pompous title of emperor, plundered the ſhips that were ſtranded, impriſoned the ſeamen and paſſengers, and even refuſed to allow the princeſſes to enter the harbour of Limiſſo. But Richard arriving ſoon after, diſembarked his troops, defeated Iſaac, who oppoſed his landing, entered Limiſſo by ſtorm, and having the next day obtained a ſecond victory, obliged Iſaac to ſurrender at diſcretion, and placed governors over the iſland. The Greek prince, on being thrown into priſon and loaded with irons, complained of his treatment; upon which, Richard cauſed ſilver fetters to be made for him, and that emperor is ſaid to have been ſo pleaſed with the diſtinction, as to expreſs his gratitude for the favour. Here the king married Berengaria, who inſtantly embarking, took with her Iſaac's daughter, a dangerous rival, who was thought

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to have ſeduced the affections of her huſband.

Richard arrived in Paleſtine, when the ſiege of Acre or Ptolemais, had been beſieged above two years, by the united force of all the Chriſtian armies in the Holy-Land, and had been defended by the utmoſt efforts of Saladin and the Saracens. The arrival of Richard and Philip gave new life to the Chriſtians there; and theſe princes acting in concert, and ſharing in the honour and danger of every attack, gave hopes of a final victory over the infidels. They agreed, that when the king of France attacked the town, Richard, with the Engliſh forces, ſhould guard the trenches; and the next day when the king of England conducted the aſſault, the French ſhould ſucceed him in providing for the ſafety of the aſſailants. This being regularly performed, extraordinary acts of valour were produced, by the emulation between theſe rival kings and nations: but Richard, animated with a more precipitant courage, drew to himſelf the general attention, and acquired a prodigious reputation. Hence occaſions of diſcord ſoon ariſing between theſe jealous princes, this harmony was of ſhort duration.

There had ariſen two competitors for the titular crown of Jeruſalem, which had been taken by Saladin, Conrade, marquis of Montferrat, and Guy de Luſignan; Richard had embraced the cauſe of the latter, and Philip of the former, whence the oppoſite views of theſe great monarchs, brought faction and diſſention into the Chriſtian army, and retarded all its ope-

operations. The Flemings, the Piſans, the knights of St. John of Jeruſalem, adhered to Richard and Luſignan, while the Templars, the Genoeſe, and the Germans declared for Philip and Conrade. However, notwithſtanding theſe diſputes, as the length of the ſiege had reduced the Saracen garriſon to the laſt extremity, they ſurrendered themſelves priſoners, and in return for their lives, agreed to reſtore all the Chriſtian priſoners. Thus this great ſiege, which had long engaged the attention of Europe and Aſia, was at laſt brought to a happy period, after the loſs of 300,000 Chriſtians.

Philip now, inſtead of proſecuting the common cauſe, and attempting to recover the Holy City from the infidels, being piqued at the ſuperior glory Richard had acquired, and having the proſpect of obtaining many advantages by being in Europe, reſolved to return to France, pleading his bad ſtate of health. He, however, left 10,000 of his troops under the command of the duke of Burgundy, and renewed his oath to Richard, that he would not commence hoſtilities againſt his dominions during his abſence. But no ſooner had he reached Italy, than he endeavoured to obtain a diſpenſation from theſe oaths, from pope Celeſtine III. and on his meeting with a refuſal, ſtill proceeded in a project he had formed of making himſelf maſter of all Richard's dominions, of which the preſent ſituation of England gave him ſome hopes of ſucceſs.

Richard had no ſooner left England than animoſities broke out between the two prelates whom he had appointed guardians of the realm. Longchamp, haughty, preſumptuous, and armed with the legatine commiſſion, could not ſubmit to an equality with the biſhop of Durham; he even arreſted him, and made him purchaſe his liberty, by reſigning to him the earldom of Northumberland and his other dignities. The king on being informed of theſe diſſentions, ſent letters from Marſeilles, ordering the biſhop to be reſtored to his offices; but Longchamp had the inſolence to refuſe compliance, under the pretence that he was better acquainted with the king's ſecret intentions. He therefore governed the kingdom by his ſole authority; treated the nobility with arrogance, and never travelled without a ſtrong guard of fifteen hundred foreign ſoldiers, and his retinue wore the aſpect of royal magnificence.

The king, who was detained in Europe longer than that haughty prelate expected, hearing of his oſtentation, and of his inſolent and tyrannical conduct, thought proper to reſtrain his power, by appointing Walter, archbiſhop of Rouen, William Mareſhal, earl of Strigul, Geoffry Fitz-Peter, William Briewere, and Hugh Bardolf, counſellors to Longchamp; ordering him to take no important meaſures without their approbation and concurrence. But he had impreſſed ſuch a general terror on the minds of the people, that even the archbiſhop of Rouen and the earl of Strigul, durſt not produce their mandate; and he ſtill maintained

tained an uncontrouled authority: but preſuming to throw Geoffry, archbiſhop of York, who had oppoſed his meaſures, into priſon, this excited ſuch an univerſal ferment, that prince John ſummoned a parliament to be held at Reading, and cited him to appear before them.

Longchamp not daring to truſt his perſon in their hands, ſhut himſelf up in the tower of London; but being ſoon obliged to ſurrender that fortreſs, he fled to France in a female diſguiſe, and was deprived of his offices of chief juſticiary and chancellor, the former of which was conferred on the archbiſhop of Rouen, who was diſtinguiſhed by his moderation and prudence. Yet the office of legate ſtill gave him great authority in the kingdom; and by enabling him to diſturb the government, promoted the views of Philip. He firſt attempted, in 1192, to make war on Normandy; but as the French nobility refuſed to invade a country which they had ſworn to protect; and as the pope, who was the general guardian of all the princes who had taken the croſs, threatened him with eccleſiaſtical cenſures, he laid aſide that enterprize, and prevailed on prince John, by his ſecret intrigues, to enter into his views, on condition of marrying his ſiſter Alice, and being put in poſſeſſion of all Richard's dominions on the continent. But when that turbulent prince was ready to croſs the channel, he was prevailed upon, by the authority of queen Eleanor, and the menaces of the Engliſh counſel, to deſiſt from his ambitious views.

Philip's

Philip's jealouſy and envy being every moment excited by the glory Richard gained in the Eaſt; which, on being compared to his own deſertion of the popular cauſe, threw a double luſtre on his rival, he reſolved to blaſt the fame to which he could not aſpire. In Aſia was a petty prince, commonly called *The Old Man of the Mountain*, who had obtained ſuch an aſcendant over his fanatical ſubjects, that paying an implicit obedience to his commands, they eſteemed aſſaſſination meritorious when ſanctified by his mandate: courted danger and even death in the execution of his orders, and fancied, that by ſacrificing their lives in his ſervice, they ſhould obtain the higheſt joys of Paradiſe. When this prince imagined himſelf injured, he was accuſtomed to ſend one of his ſubjects as the executioner of his revenge, and being ſkilled in all the arts of diſguiſe, no precaution was ſufficient to guard even the moſt powerful, from the attempts of theſe ſubtile and determined ruffians. The greateſt monarchs ſtood in awe of this prince of the aſſaſſins. Conrade, marquis of Montferrat, who had the government of the city of Tyre, had offended this treacherous prince, for the inhabitants had put to death ſome of his dangerous people. The prince, who had his regular and eſtabliſhed formalities, ſent to demand ſatisfaction. When Conrade treating his meſſengers with diſdain, the prince iſſued the fatal orders, and two of his ſubjects, who had inſinuated themſelves in diſguiſe among Conrade's guards, mortally wounded him in the ſtreets

ſtreets of Sidon; and on their being ſeized and put to the torture, triumphed amidſt their agonies, in being permitted to ſuffer in ſuch a meritorious cauſe.

On this foundation the king of France built the moſt infamous calumnies, and though all the Chriſtians in the Eaſt, knew from whence the blow came, and that Conrade himſelf had with his dying breath recommended his widow to Richard's protection, he charged him with the murder of the marquis of Montferrat, and filled all Europe with exclamations againſt the baſeneſs of the crime: as if afraid of the like attempt, he ordered a guard for his own perſon; and by theſe vile artifices endeavoured to conceal the infamy of attacking the dominions of a prince, who in a war, univerſally eſteemed the common cauſe of Chriſtendom, was obtaining ſuch glory.

The Chriſtian adventurers under Richard's command, reſolved to open the campaign by attempting the ſiege of Aſcalon, in order to prepare the way for that of Jeruſalem, and with that intention marched along the ſea-coaſt. Saladin, in order to interrupt their paſſage, encamped in the road with an army of 300,000 men; and on this occaſion was fought one of the greateſt battles which any age has produced. The right and left wing of the Chriſtians, were in the beginning of the day broken; but Richard, who advanced with the main body, attacked the enemy with ſuch intrepidity and preſence of mind, that giving his wings time to recover from their confuſion, he obtained a

complete victory, in which 40,000 Saracens are ſaid to have been ſlain. Aſcalon ſoon after fell into the hands of the Chriſtians; other ſieges were carried on with the ſame ſucceſs, and Richard was able to advance within ſight of Jeruſalem, the grand object of the enterprize, when he had the mortification to find, that the enthuaſiaſtic ardor of the cruſaders was abated, and that their long abſence from home, fatigue, want, and the variety of incidents attendant on war, rendered all but himſelf deſirous of returning to Europe. The Italians, the Germans, and the French, declared their reſolution to deſiſt, and the duke of Burgundy, in order to pay his court to Philip, took all opportunities of mortifying and oppoſing the king of England. Richard therefore concluded a truce with Saladin, in which it was agreed, that Acre, Joppa, and ſome other ſea-ports, ſhould remain in the hands of the Chriſtians, and that all of that religion ſhould be freely allowed, without moleſtation, to go in pilgrimage to Jeruſalem. This truce was ſuperſtitiouſly concluded for three years, three months, three weeks, three days and three hours.

The Saracens were at this time much ſuperior to the cruſaders in learning, generoſity and humanity, and the brave Saladin diſplayed a magnanimity, which even his enemies, however bigotted, were conſtrained to acknowledge and admire. "Richard, ſays Mr. "Hume, was equally martial and brave, but "had more of the barbarian, and was guilty "of acts of ferocity, which threw a ſtain on "his

" his celebrated victories. When Saladin re-
" fuſed to ratify the capitulation of Acre, the
" king of England ordered all his priſoners,
" to the number of 5000, to be butchered;
" and the Saracens found themſelves obliged
" to retaliate upon the Chriſtians by a like
" cruelty. Saladin died at Damaſcus ſoon
" after concluding this truce with the princes
" of the cruſade: it is memorable, that be-
" fore he expired, he ordered his winding-
" ſheet to be carried as a ſtandard through
" every ſtreet of the city; while a crier went
" before, and proclaimed with a loud voice,
" *This is all that remains to the mighty Sala-*
" *din, the conqueror of the Eaſt.*" By his laſt will he ordered charities to be diſtributed to the poor, without diſtinction of Jew, Chriſtian, or Mahometan.

As Richard had nothing to detain him, the intelligence he received of the intrigues of the king of France and his brother John, made him haſten to Europe. Not thinking it ſafe to paſs through France, he ſailed to Italy; and being ſhipwrecked near Aquileia, he, on his landing, put on the diſguiſe of a pilgrim, in order to travel unobſerved through Germany: but being purſued by the governor of Iſtria, he was obliged to leave the direct road to England, and to paſs by Vienna; where being betrayed by his expences and liberalities, which were more ſuitable to a monarch than a pilgrim, he was arreſted on the 20th of December, 1192, by order of Leopold, duke of Auſtria, whom this great monarch had inſult-

ed at the ſiege of Acre, and that duke being ſtimulated by his avarice and revenge, ungeneroufly threw the king into priſon, and loaded him with ſhackles. The emperor Henry VI. who was exaſperated at Richard for the treaty he had concluded with Tancred, king of Sicily, ſent to require the duke of Auſtria to deliver him up to him, and ſtipulated to pay him a large ſum of money for that ſervice. Thus this king, who had filled Europe and Aſia with the fame of his bravery and military conduct, was, when his affairs in England were in a moſt critical ſituation, confined in a priſon, loaded with irons, and entirely at the mercy of his baſe and ungenerous enemies.

On receiving this fatal intelligence, England was ſtruck with conſternation, and the council inſtantly foreſaw the dangerous conſequences that might ariſe from it. Eleanor, the king's mother, wrote letter after letter to the pope, exclaiming againſt this injurious treatment of her ſon; repreſented the impiety of impriſoning the moſt illuſtrious warrior that had ever marched under the banner of Chriſt into the Holy Land; claiming his protection, and upbraiding him, that in a cauſe in which juſtice, religion, and the dignity of the church were ſo nearly concerned, the ſpiritual thunders ſhould ſo long be ſuſpended, without falling on the heads of theſe ſacrilegious offenders. Yet ſhe was unable to make pope Celeſtine's zeal correſpond with her impatience; and for a long time the regency of England were left

to

to ſtruggle with their foreign and domeſtic enemies.

Philip being ſoon informed by the emperor of Richard's confinement, prepared to take advantage of it, and meanly made uſe of force and intrigue, war and negociation, againſt the perſon and dominions of his unhappy rival. He revived the baſe calumny of Richard's aſſaſſinating the marquis of Montferrat, and by that means, induced his barons to violate the oaths, by which they were bound not to attack the king of England's dominions during his abſence: he made the largeſt offers to the emperor, to induce him to deliver the royal priſoner into his hands, or at leaſt to detain him in perpetual confinement: he even formed an alliance by marriage with the king of Denmark, deſired, that the ancient Daniſh claim to the Engliſh crown ſhould be transferred to him, and to maintain it, ſolicited a ſupply of ſhips. But his moſt ſucceſsful negociations was with prince John, who, forgetting every obligation to his brother, his ſovereign and benefactor, only thought of turning the public calamities to his own advantage. On the firſt invitation, he ſuddenly went to the court of France, and entered into a treaty with Philip for ruining his brother, ſtipulating to deliver to the French king a great part of Normandy, and in return, received the inveſtiture of all Richard's tranſmarine dominions; and he is even ſaid to have done homage to the king of France for the crown of England.

On the concluſion of this treaty, Philip invaded Normandy, and by the treachery of John's emiſſaries, obtained, without oppoſition, the poſſeſſion of ſeveral fortreſſes: he ſubdued the counties of Aumale and Eu; and proceeding to lay ſiege to Rouen, threatened the inhabitants, that if they dared to reſiſt, he would put them all to the ſword. Happily, in this critical moment, appeared Robert, earl of Leiceſter, who had obtained great honour during the cruſade; and being more fortunate than the king in finding his way homewards, entered Rouen, and took the command of that city, and by his exhortations and example, enfuſed courage into the diſmayed Normans. Philip was repulſed in every attack, and the time of the ſervice of his vaſſals being expired, he and the Engliſh regency conſented to a truce, in return for which he received the promiſe of twenty thouſand marks; and to ſecure the payment, had four caſtles put into his hands.

John now came over to England, and made himſelf maſter of the caſtles of Wallingford and Windſor; then coming to London, laid claim to the crown, as heir to his brother, pretending to have received a certain account of his death; but he being rejected by all the barons, meaſures were immediately taken to oppoſe him; and the juſticiaries being ſupported by the general affection of the people, provided ſo effectually for the defence of the kingdom, that John, after ſome fruitleſs efforts, was obliged to conclude a truce with them;

and

and before it was expired, returned into France, where he openly acknowledged the alliance into which he had entered with Philip.

In the mean time, the high ſpirit of Richard had the mortification to ſuffer the greateſt inſults and indignities. The ambaſſadors of Philip, in their maſter's name, declared all his fiefs to be forfeited to his liege lord. While the emperor, in order to make him ſubmit to the payment of a larger ranſom, treated him with ſuch ſeverity, that he was reduced to a worſe condition than that of the meaneſt malefactor. He was even obliged to appear at Wormes, before the diet of the empire, where Henry accuſed him of entering into an alliance with Tancred, the uſurper of Sicily; of employing the arms of the cruſade againſt a Chriſtian prince, and ſubduing Cyprus; of affronting the duke of Auſtria at the ſiege of Acre; of his quarrels with the king of France, by which he obſtructed the progreſs of the Chriſtian arms; of cruelly aſſaſſinating Conrade, marquis of Montferrat; and of concluding a truce with Saladin, and leaving Jeruſalem in the hands of the Saracens.

Richard, whoſe misfortunes were incapable of breaking his ſpirit, and whoſe abilities were rouſed by theſe imputations, obſerved, that though his dignity exempted him from anſwering before any other tribunal than that of heaven, yet he would ſtoop to juſtify his conduct. That, with reſpect to Tancred, he had no hand in his elevation, and only concluded a treaty with a prince whom he found in poſ-

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ſeſſion of the throne: that the king of Cyprus had provoked his indignation by the moſt unjuſt and ungenerous proceedings; and though he had chaſtiſed him, it had not retarded the chief enterprize for a moment: that if he had been wanting in civility on any occaſion to the duke of Auſtria, that ſally of paſſion had already been ſufficiently puniſhed; and that it better became men united in ſo holy a cauſe, to forgive each others infirmities, than to purſue a ſlight offence with ſuch unrelenting vengeance: that the event had ſufficiently ſhewn, whether the French king or he was moſt zealous for the conqueſt of the Holy Land, and moſt ready to ſacrifice private animoſities to that grand object: that if the whole tenor of his life had not proved him incapable of a baſe aſſaſſination, and juſtified him even in the opinion of his enemies, from that imputation, it was in vain for him then to make his apology, or to plead, from the many convincing proofs he could produce in his own favour; and that he was ſo far from being aſhamed of his being obliged, though with regret, to conclude a truce with Saladin, that he gloried in that event, and thought it the greateſt honour, that, though abandoned by all the world, ſupported alone by his own courage, and by the ſmall remains of his national troops, he had been able to obtain ſuch conditions from the moſt powerful and moſt warlike emperor the Eaſt had ever produced. Richard having thus condeſcended to apologize for his conduct, gave vent to his indignation at the cruel treatment he had ſuf-

fered;

fered; that he, the champion of the croſs, who ſtill wore that honourable badge, ſhould, after expending the blood and treaſure of his ſubjects in the common cauſe of all the Chriſtians, be intercepted by Chriſtian princes, in his way to his own country, be thrown into a dungeon, be loaded with irons, be obliged, as if he were a ſubject and a malefactor, to plead his cauſe, and what he regretted ſtill more, be thus prevented from making a new cruſade after the truce was expired, and from redeeming the ſepulchre of Chriſt, which had ſo long been prophaned by the infidels.

Richard's ſpirit and eloquence made ſuch an impreſſion on the German princes, that they loudly exclaimed againſt the emperor's conduct: the pope threatened him with excommunication; and Henry, who had liſtened to the propoſals of the king of France and prince John, now found it impoſſible to execute his and their baſe purpoſes, or to detain the king of England much longer in priſon. He therefore agreed to reſtore him to liberty, for the ſum of 150,000 * marks; of which he was to receive 100,000 marks before he was ſet free, and ſixty-ſeven hoſtages be delivered for the remainder. To gloſs over this infamous tranſaction, the emperor at the ſame time made him a preſent of the kingdom of Arles, comprehending Narbonne, Dauphiny, Provence, and other ſtates, over which the empire had

* About 300,000 l. of our preſent money.

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ſome antiquated claims; a preſent which the king very wiſely neglected.

The Engliſh exerted themſelves in raiſing the ſum required for the king's ranſom. Twenty ſhillings were levied on each knight's fee in England; and as that was not ſufficient, the voluntary zeal of the people readily ſupplied the deficiency. The parochial clergy contributed a tenth of their tithes; the biſhops, abbots, and nobles, paid a fourth of their annual income; and the churches and monaſteries melted down as much plate as amounted to 30,000 marks. The ſum being thus collected, queen Eleanor and Walter, archbiſhop of Rouen, ſet out with it for Germany, paid the money to the emperor and duke of Auſtria at Mentz; and having delivered hoſtages for the remainder, ſet the king at liberty.

Happy was it for Richard that they made ſuch expedition. Henry had been detected in aſſaſſinating the biſhop of Liege, and in making the ſame attempt on the duke of Louvaine; and finding that theſe odious crimes rendered him extremely obnoxious to the German princes, he had reſolved to ſupport himſelf by an alliance with Philip; to detain Richard in perpetual captivity; to keep the money they had already paid for his ranſom, and to extort freſh ſums from Philip and John, who made him large offers. He therefore gave orders, that Richard ſhould be purſued and ſtopped; but the king, uſing the utmoſt expedition, had already embarked at the mouth of the Scheld,

Scheld, and when the meſſengers arrived at Antwerp, was out of ſight of land.

The emperor, vexed at this diſappointment, threw the hoſtages into priſon. The king landed at Sandwich on the twentieth of March 1194. The joy of the Engliſh was extreme, on ſeeing a monarch who had ſuffered ſo many calamities, who had acquired ſuch glory, and had ſpread the reputation of their name in the Eaſt, farther than their fame had ever before extended. Soon after his arrival, as if he intended to wipe off the ignominy of his captivity, he ordered himſelf to be crowned a-new at Worceſter; and thus gave the people an opportunity of publickly diſplaying their exultation. The ſatisfaction of the nation was not damped, even by his declaring his reſolution to reſume all the exorbitant grants he had ſold, to provide money for his expedition to the Holy Land. The great council alſo confiſcated all prince John's poſſeſſions in England, on account of his treaſon, and aſſiſted Richard in reducing the fortreſſes that ſtill remained in the poſſeſſion of his brother's adherents.

When Richard had ſettled every thing in England, he paſſed over with an army into Normandy; being impatient to obtain revenge for the many injuries he had received from Philip. That king no ſooner heard of his delivery, than he wrote to John in theſe words, "Take care of yourſelf, the devil has broke "looſe." The king landed at Barfleur, and proceeded to his palace at Bures, near Bayeux.

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The next morning his brother John appeared before him, and throwing himſelf at his feet, implored his pardon; which, at the interceſſion of his mother, was granted. "I forgive "him, ſaid the king, and I hope ſhall as eaſi- "ly forget his injuries, as he my pardon." John, on returning to his duty, was guilty of an act of treachery, that ought forever to ſtain his name with infamy. Before he left Philip's party, he invited to dinner all the officers which that prince had placed in the citadel of Evreux, and cauſed them to be maſſacred during the entertainment, then fell on the garriſon, with the aſſiſtance of the townſmen, and having put them all to the ſword, delivered up the place to his brother.

The king having appointed his troops to rendezvous at Aigle, went thither, and immediately advanced to the relief of Verneuil, which was beſieged by Philip, to whom he reſolved to give battle; but that prince declined an engagement, and retired in the night with precipitation. The king afterwards took Loches by aſſault. The king of France now propoſed a conference, and the place was fixed; but while the Engliſh commiſſioners waited for the French deputies, Philip took the caſtle of Fontaines near Rouen, and in his retreat, ſurprized the earl of Leiceſter in the neighbourhood of Gournay; he afterwards burnt the town of Evereux, and then marched towards Fretteval, where Richard reſolved to attack him; but on his having advanced as far as Vendome, the French king did not dare to come

come to an engagement, but retired in great confuſion; Richard purſued, and coming up with him, defeated his army with a great ſlaughter, and Philip narrowly eſcaped with his life. All his baggage and treaſure were taken, with the contracts ſigned by the rebellious barons, who had obliged themſelves to aſſiſt Philip and John againſt their ſovereign. Immediately after the victory, Richard marched with great expedition into Guienne againſt the count of Eugeuleſme and Geoffry de Rancone, who had raiſed an inſurrection, and in ſixteen days reduced all their towns and caſtles, and took three hundred knights and forty thouſand ſoldiers.

After this victory, Philip ſued for a truce, and one for a year was at laſt concluded between the two monarchs. In this interval Richard cauſed a ſcrutiny to be made into the produce of the revenue during his abſence, which was alſo carried on in his foreign dominions.

About this time the duke of Auſtria, having cruſhed his leg by the fall of his horſe at a tournament, a fever enſued, which brought on a mortification, and on the approach of death, being ſtruck with remorſe for his injuſtice to Richard, he ordered by his will that all the Engliſh hoſtages in his hands ſhould be ſet at liberty; that the money which he had received for his ranſom ſhould be returned, and the remainder of the debt due to him be remitted. His ſon was ſo unwilling to execute theſe articles, that he allowed his father's corpſe to

lie a week unburied, before he would releaſe the hoſtages; for the clergy refuſed to perform the funeral rites till theſe articles were fulfilled. Soon after, the emperor alſo made advances for Richard's friendſhip, and offered to give him a diſcharge from his ſhare of the ranſom yet unpaid, on condition of his entering into an offenſive alliance againſt Philip. Richard readily embraced this propoſal. But though the treaty with the emperor took no effect, it ſerved to rekindle the war between England and France, before the truce was expired. Their hoſtilities, however, were attended with no more remarkable incidents than the former war; for after mutually ravaging the open country, and taking a few inſignificant caſtles, they concluded a peace at Louviers, and made an exchange of ſome territories.

Their mutual animoſity, however, engaged them in a new war before two months were expired; for Richard having formed an alliance with the counts of Champagne, Toulouſe, Boulogne, Flanders and other conſiderable vaſſals, imagined that he ſhould now gain great advantages over his rival. But he ſoon experienced the inſincerity of thoſe princes, and was unable to make much impreſſion on the dominions of ſo active and vigorous a prince as Philip. One of the moſt remarkable incidents of this war was, his taking the biſhop of Beauvais priſoner. That martial prelate was nearly related to the king of France; and Richard, who hated him, threw him into priſon, and loaded him with irons. Soon after, the pope demanding his liberty, and claiming

claiming him as his ſon, the king ſent his Holineſs the coat of mail, which the prelate had worn in battle, and was all beſmeared with blood; and replied to him, in the words of Jacob's ſons to that Patriarch, *This we have found: know now whether it be thy ſon's coat or no* *. Though this new war was carried on with ſuch animoſity, that both kings frequently put out the eyes of their priſoners, it was finiſhed in 1196, by a truce of five years; yet immediately after this treaty was ſigned, ſome new offence made the two kings ready to renew their hoſtilities: but the cardinal of St. Mary, the pope's legate, not only accommodated the difference, but engaged theſe princes to commence a treaty for a more durable peace; but an end was put to the negociation by the death of Richard.

This was occaſioned by a petty quarrel; Vidomar, viſcount of Limoges, one of the king's veſſals, had found a treaſure, a part of which he ſent to the king, as a preſent; but Richard, as ſuperior lord, claimed the whole, and to make him comply with his demand, beſieged the viſcount in the caſtle of Chalus near Limoges. The garriſon offered to ſurrender, but the king had the cruelty to reply, that ſince he had taken the trouble to march thither, and beſiege the caſtle in perſon, he would take it by force, and hang every one of them. The ſame day the king, accompanied by Marcadee, the leader of his Brabanters, went

* Geneſis xxxvii. 32.

to take a ſurvey of the place, when one Bertrand de Gourdon, an archer, taking aim at him, wounded him with an arrow in his ſhoulder. Richard, however, gave orders for the aſſault, and on his taking the caſtle, cauſed all the garriſon to be hanged, except Gourdon, who had wounded him, and whom he intended to execute in a more cruel manner.

Though the wound was not dangerous, it was rendered mortal by the unſkilfulneſs of the ſurgeon, who mangled the part in ſuch a manner in pulling out the arrow, that a gangrene enſued. Being now ſenſible that his life was drawing towards a cloſe, he made his will, in which he left the kingdom of England, with all his other dominions, to his brother John. Before he died, he ſent for Gourdon, and on ſeeing him, cried, "Wretch! What have I "ever done to make you ſeek my life?——"What have you done to me? the priſoner "coolly replied; Why, you killed with your "own hands my father and my two brothers, "and intended to have hanged me. I am "now in your power, and you may take your "revenge, by making me ſuffer the moſt ſe-"vere torments. I ſhall endure them all with "pleaſure, if I can be ſo happy as to know "that I have rid the world of ſuch a tyrant." Richard, ſtruck with this anſwer, ordered Gourdon to be preſented with a hundred ſhillings, and ſet at liberty: but Marcadee, like a true ruffian, ſeized the brave unhappy man, cauſed him to be flead alive, and afterwards hanged.

hanged. Richard died on the 6th of April 1199, in the tenth year of his reign, and the forty-ſecond of his age.

Richard was tall, ſtraight, well proportioned, and had great ſtrength. His eyes were blue and full of vivacity; he had light hair, a fair and comely countenance, a majeſtic air; and it was remarked, that his arms were unuſually long. He was poſſeſſed of a good underſtanding, an uncommon penetration, and a fund of manly eloquence. His converſation was ſpirited, and he was particularly admired for his talent at repartee. But the moſt ſhining part of his character was his military talents; for no man ever carried perſonal courage to a greater height; whence he obtained the name of *Coeur de Lion*, or lion hearted; and for this he was celebrated both in Europe and Aſia: hence the Saracens ſtilled their children with the terror of his name; and the brave Saladin had ſuch an eſteem for his valour, that immediately after Richard had defeated him on the plains of Joppa, he, as a mark of his eſteem, ſent him a couple of fine Arabian horſes. He was paſſionately fond of military glory; and as his conduct in the field was equal to his valour, he poſſeſſed every talent neceſſary for acquiring it. He was of a warm and impetuous temper; and diſtinguiſhed both by all the good and all the bad qualities incident to that character: he was open, frank, and generous; and at the ſame time ambitious, haughty, revengeful, and cruel! His ſubjects, as well as

his neighbours, had therefore reaſon to apprehend, that had his reign been continued to a greater length, it would have been a perpetual ſcene of blood-ſhed and violence. But as military talents make a great impreſſion on the minds of people, he ſeems to have been much beloved by his Engliſh ſubjects, though he paſſed only four months of his reign in the kingdom. He ſpent near three years in the cruſade, was about fourteen months in captivity, and paſſed the reſt of his reign either in war, or in preparations for it againſt France; and notwithſtanding his paſt misfortunes, he was ſo pleaſed with the fame he had acquired in the Eaſt, that he determined to expoſe himſelf to new hazards, and to have again exhauſted his kingdom by another expedition into the Holy Land.

His reign was, however, very oppreſſive and arbitrary, by the high taxes he levied on his ſubjects, ſometimes without the conſent of the ſtate, and by his reſuming his own grants, and cancelling the debts he owed. Twice in his reign, he ordered all his charters to be ſealed anew, and the parties to pay fees for the renewal. It is pretended that Hubert, his juſticiary, ſent him over to France, in the ſpace of three years, the ſum of 1,100,000 marks, over and above the charges of the government in England: but this Mr. Hume juſtly obſerves, is in the higheſt degree improbable: for a king who poſſeſſed ſuch a revenue, could never have endured fourteen months captivity for not paying 150,000 marks

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to the emperor, or be at laſt obliged to leave hoſtages for a third of the ſum. The value of land, and prices of commodities, alſo prove, that no ſuch enormous ſums could be levied on the people. A hyde of land, which conſiſted of about a hundred and twenty acres, was then let for twenty ſhillings a-year, and there were but 243,600 hydes in England. The uſual price of an ox was four ſhillings, of a labouring horſe the ſame, of a ſow one ſhilling, of a ſheep with fine wool ten pence, and with coarſe wool ſix-pence; beſides the revenues of the crown, being in this and ſeveral of the former reigns moſtly ſpent abroad, there could be but little coin in the kingdom.

This king was guilty of renewing the ſevere laws introduced by the Conqueror againſt hunting in his foreſts, and puniſhed the offenders by caſtration, and putting out the eyes of the tranſgreſſors. On the other hand, he re-eſtabliſhed the uſeful inſtitution, that there ſhould be but one weight and one meaſure throughout the kingdom.

Miscellaneous Observations.

During this reign, the government of London was ſo ill conducted as to produce the greateſt diſorders, and there ſeemed in 1196, to be formed ſo regular a conſpiracy among the numerous malefactors there, as threatened the city with deſtruction. One William Fitz-Oſbert, uſually called Longbeard, a lawyer, became ſo extremely popular among the lower claſs of people, by defending them on all occaſions,

caſions, that he was called the advocate or ſaviour of the poor. He lived in perpetual hoſtility with the ſubſtantial citizens, who were conſtantly expoſed to the moſt outragious acts of violence from him and his licentious emiſſaries. Murders were daily committed in the ſtreets, and houſes broke open and pillaged by day-light. It is even pretended, that 50,000 perſons had ſigned an aſſociation, by which they agreed to obey all the orders of this execrable villain. Archbiſhop Hubert, the chief juſticiary, ſummoned him to anſwer for his conduct before the council; but he came with ſuch numerous attendants, that none dared to accuſe or give evidence againſt him; when the primate was obliged to be ſatisfied with exacting hoſtages from the citizens for their good behaviour. He, however, kept a watchful eye over this abandoned ruffian, and taking advantage of a favourable opportunity, attempted to take him into cuſtody, but he killed one of the officers who had ſeized him, and eſcaped with his concubine, to the church of St. Mary le Bow, where he defended himſelf by force of arms, and expected to be joined by the populace; but theſe were intimidated, both on account of the hoſtages they had given, and by a numerous body of forces, by which the church was immediately inveſted. Yet ſtill refuſing to ſubmit to a legal trial, Hubert ordered the ſoldiers to force their way into the church, on which he and his men retired into the ſteeple, from whence he was driven by the ſmoke of wet ſtraw, kindled for that purpoſe.

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He was then taken, tried, and convicted; and with nine of his accomplices, was hanged. The lower claſs of people revered him as a martyr, and beginning to entertain a belief that he wrought miracles, the gibbet was ſtolen as rivalling the croſs in ſanctity; even the turf on which it ſtood was carried away, and kept as a preſervative from ſickneſs and misfortune; while infinite crowds of people reſorted to the place, either from curioſity or devotion. But the archbiſhop ſet a guard upon the ſpot to keep off the multitude; and the clergy oppoſing thoſe pretended miracles, this ſuperſtition ſuddenly ceaſed.

At the concluſion of the reign of this warlike p ince, we cannot give any circumſtances more curious with reſpect to the cuſtoms of that age, than the manner in which engagements at ſea, and the ſieges of fortified towns were carried on, before the invention of gunpowder.

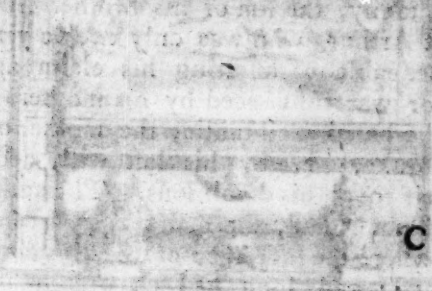
It appears, that the ſhips of war were then all galleys with two rows of oars; and to the prow was fixed a piece of wood, commonly called a ſpur, deſigned to ſtrike and pierce the ſhips of the enemy. There were alſo leſſer galleys, with only one tier of oars, which being ſhorter, and therefore moved with greater facility, were fitter for throwing wild-fire, and were uſed for that purpoſe. In order to give an idea of the naval engagements in thoſe days before the invention of gun-powder, we ſhall give the deſcription of one which the Chriſtians, who were going to the ſiege of Ptolemais,

mais, had with the Turks on that coaſt, from Geoffry de Vineſauf, who ſays, that when the fleets were advancing to engage, that of the Chriſtians was drawn up in a creſcent or half moon, and at the two ends of the curve were placed the largeſt galleys, that they might the better repel the attacks of the enemy. On the upper deck of each galley the ſoldiers belonging to it were drawn up in a circle, with their bucklers cloſely joined, the rowers ſitting all together on the lower deck, that thoſe who fought above might have the more room. The action began on both ſides with a diſcharge of their miſſile weapons: then the Chriſtians rowed forwards with all their force to ſtrike the enemy's galleys with the ſpurs or beaks of theirs: after which they came to cloſe fighting; the oppoſite oars were mixed and entangled together; they held the enemy's galleys with grappling irons, and fired the planks with a kind of burning oil, commonly called Greek wild-fire, which, with a pernicious ſtrench and livid flames, the above author adds, conſumes even flint and iron: nor can it be extinguiſhed by water: but by ſprinkling ſand upon it, its violence may be abated; and vinegar poured upon it will put it out. While this wild-fire was a ſecret to all but the Greeks, it was of great uſe in the defence of Conſtantinople, but in the twelfth century the ſecret was known to many other nations, and was alſo uſed in the defence of caſtles and towns.

The military art at this time was in many particulars the ſame with that of the ancient Romans.

The Monument of King Henry II. and King Richard I. at Font Evraud in Anjou.

Romans. Among other machines uſed by them in ſieges, the Engliſh and other nations had moveable towers built of wood, and of ſuch a height, that the tops of them overlooked the battlements of the city. They were covered with raw hides, to prevent their being burnt, and had alſo a net work of ropes which hung before them, in order to deaden the violence of the ſtones that were thrown againſt them by the engines of the beſieged: theſe engines were the *baliſtæ* of the ancients: their force was prodigious: they threw ſtones of a vaſt weight, and were employed by the beſiegers to batter the walls, and by the beſieged to defend them. Their manner of fortifying towns and caſtles were alſo much the ſame as had been uſed by the Romans: but the armies differed much from thoſe of that people, for their principal ſtrength was in the cavalry, whereas among the Romans, it was in the legions, which were chiefly compoſed of infantry.



CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

JOHN.

He is preferred to Arthur, the Son of his elder Brother, and Crowned. His War with France, in which Arthur is taken Priſoner, and afterwards murdered. He is expelled from his French Provinces. His Quarrel with the Pope, for which the Kingdom is laid under an Interdict, and he excommunicated. He reſigns his Crown to the Pope's Nuncio, and pays him homage as the Pope's Vaſſal. His Tyranny obliges the Barons to riſe, in order to recover their Liberties. He ſigns Magna Charta. The Civil Wars renewed. Prince Lewis called over by the Barons. John's Death and Character.

WHETHER Richard, duke of Britanny, the ſon of his brother Geoffry, thought Arthur, who was only twelve years of age, incapable of aſſerting his claim againſt John, or was influenced by his mother Eleanor, who hated Conſtantia, the mother of the young duke, he, by his laſt will, declared John heir to all his dominions. The authority of a teſtament had, for many ages, been very great, where the ſucceſſion of the kingdom was concerned; and John had no great reaſon to doubt, that this title, joined to his plauſible right in other reſpects, would ſecure him the poſſeſ-

poſſeſſion of the crown, ſince the people could not be greatly diſpleaſed at the excluſion of young Arthur, a foreigner, whom they had never ſeen, in favour of prince John, who had been educated among them, and had already ſecured the greateſt men in the kingdom in his intereſt. However, the barons of Touraine, Maine, and Anjou, declaring immediately in favour of Arthur, applied to the king of France for aſſiſtance. Philip, who wiſhed for an opportunity to embarraſs John, took young Arthur under his protection, and ſent him, with his ſon Lewis, to be educated at Paris. In the mean while, John ſent Eleanor, his mother, into Guienne and Poictou, where his right being inconteſtible, it was readily acknowledged. He himſelf haſted to Rouen, and being there inveſted in the dutchy of Normandy, he, without loſs of time, came to England, where Hubert, archbiſhop of Canterbury, William Mareſchal, earl of Strigul, and Geoffry Fitz-Peter, the juſticiary, the late king's moſt favourite miniſters, were already engaged on his ſide; and all the other barons ſubmitting to him, he aſcended the throne without oppoſition.

John was crowned at Weſtminſter on the day after his arrival, by Hubert, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and took the uſual oaths to govern the kingdom according to the law of the land; after which, having taken proper meaſures for the ſecurity of the nation, he returned to Normandy, and aſſembled an army at Rouen to oppoſe Philip, and recover the re-

volved provinces from his nephew Arthur. The alliances formed by Richard with the earl of Flanders and other powerful French barons, enabled John to defend himſelf againſt all the efforts of his enemy. In an action between the French and the Flemings near Mentz, Philip took Peter de Corbeil, biſhop elect of Cambray, priſoner; and when the cardinal of Capua claimed his releaſe, inſtead of complying, he reproached him with the weak efforts that had been uſed in behalf of the biſhop of Beauvais, who ſtill remained a priſoner in Normandy; upon which the legate ſhewed his impartiality, by laying at the ſame time both the kingdom of France and the dutchy of Normandy under an interdict, when the two kings found themſelves under the neceſſity of ſetting thoſe military prelates at liberty.

The ſelfiſh intriguing character of Philip, greatly contributed to enable John to bring this war to a happy concluſion; for the king of France behaving in the provinces, that had declared for Arthur, without any regard to the intereſt of thoſe provinces, Conſtantia became jealous of his intending to uſurp the entire dominion of them; and finding means to carry off Arthur ſecretly from Paris, ſhe put him into the hands of his uncle; reſtored the provinces which had declared for the young prince, and made him do homage to John for the dutchy of Britanny, which was conſidered as a rere-fiefe of Normandy. This convinced Philip, that he could have no hope of obtaining any great advantage over John; and being at

at the ſame time threatened with an interdict on account of the irregular manner in which he had divorced the Daniſh princeſs Ingelburga, he became deſirous of concluding a peace. After ſeveral fruitleſs conferences, the terms were at laſt adjuſted; by which it appeared, that in this treaty the two monarchs ſeemed not only to intend to put an end to the preſent quarrel, but to prevent all future cauſes of diſcord. They, in the year 1200, ſettled the limits of all their territories; mutually ſecured the intereſts of all their barons; and to render this union more durable, it was agreed, that Philip's eldeſt ſon ſhould marry Blanch of Caſtile, John's niece, and have with her the baronies of Graçai, Iſſoudun, and other fiefs in Berri. The guarantees of this treaty were nine barons of the king of England, and as many of the king of France; all of whom ſwore, that if their ſovereign violated any one article in it, they would declare themſelves againſt him, and embrace the cauſe of that prince who was injured.

John, thinking that he had now nothing to fear from France, indulged a paſſion he had entertained for Iſabella, the daughter of Aymar Taillefer, count of Angouleme. Though his queen, the heireſs of the family of Glouceſter, was ſtill alive; and Iſabella was married to the count de la Marche, and already conſigned to that nobleman's care; though, on account of her tender years, the marriage had not been conſummated. Regardleſs of theſe obſtacles, John prevailed on the count of Angouleme to

carry off his daughter from her huſband; and having, on ſome pretence, procured a divorce from his wife, married Iſabella; giving himſelf no concern either about the menaces of the pope, who loudly complained of theſe irregular proceedings, or at the reſentment of the injured count.

The king was unacquainted with the art of attaching his barons to himſelf, either by fear or affection; and the very next year the count de la Marche, who had been thus deprived of his young bride, joining with his brother, the count d'Eu, took advantage of the general diſlike which prevailed againſt John, and raiſed commotions in Normandy and Poictou, which obliged the king to take arms, in order to ſuppreſs his rebellious vaſſals. He therefore ſummoned the Engliſh barons to appear before him, and ordered them to paſs the ſeas under his ſtandard, in order to oppoſe the rebels; but they unanimouſly refuſed to attend him on this expedition, unleſs he would engage to reſtore and preſerve their privileges. This was the firſt ſymptom of a regular aſſociation in defence of liberty among thoſe noblemen: but John, by his menaces, broke this honourable confederacy, prevailed on many of them to attend him into Normandy, and conſtrained the reſt to pay him, as an exemption from the ſervice, a ſcutage of two marks on each knight's fee.

Theſe forces, joined with thoſe in Normandy, rendered the king much too formidable for his malecontent barons; as Philip gave them no

no countenance, and appeared reſolved to perſevere in his alliance with England, John, elated with this, advanced claims which univerſally alarmed his vaſſals, and ſpread ſtill wider a ſpirit of diſcontent. As cauſes in the lord's court were, at that time, chiefly decided by duel, he took with him certain bravoes whom he retained as champions, and were to fight with his barons, in order to determine any ſuit againſt them. The count de la Marche and other barons conſidered this both as an affront and an injury; and declared, that they would never draw their ſwords againſt men of ſuch inferior quality. The king menaced them with vengeance; on which, appealing to the king of France, they complained, that they were denied juſtice in John's courts, and entreated him, as their ſuperior lord, to employ his authority, to prevent their oppreſſion and final ruin. Philip now interpoſing in behalf of the French barons, began to talk to the king of England in a menacing ſtile, and John, who could not diſown that prince's authority, anſwered, that it firſt belonged to him to grant them a trial by their peers in his own court; and till he failed in this duty, he was not anſwerable to his peers in the ſupreme court of the king of France; and promiſed to give ſatisfaction to his barons, by a fair and equitable trial. In conſequence of this promiſe, the nobles demanded a ſafe conduct, that they might attend his court. This he at firſt refuſed; but upon Philip's renewing his menaces, promiſed to grant their demand; yet

he violated this promiſe. Freſh menaces induced him to promiſe to ſurrender the fortreſſes of Boutavant and Tillieres, as a ſecurity, that he would keep his word; but he alſo violated this engagement; when his enemies being fully ſenſible both of his want of faith and his weakneſs, reſolved to puſh him to extremities; and they were ſoon encouraged in their oppoſition to his odious and deſpicable adminiſtration, by the appearance of a new and powerful ally.

In 1203, Arthur, who was now riſing to man's eſtate, becoming apprehenſive of his uncle's dangerous character, reſolved to ſeek for ſecurity and elevation from his enemies, and therefore joined the French army, which had begun hoſtilities againſt the king of England; and was received by Philip with great marks of diſtinction, that prince knighted him, eſpouſed him to his daughter Mary, and not only inveſted him in the dutchy of Britanny, but in the counties of Maine and Anjou, which he had before reſigned to his uncle.

Every attempt now ſucceeded with the allies: Philip took Tillieres and Boutavant, after their making but a feeble defence. Mortimar and Lyons, after a feeble reſiſtance, alſo fell into his hands. He next inveſted Gournai, and opening the ſluices of a lake which lay above the town, poured ſuch a torrent of water into it, that the garriſon and inhabitants were obliged to ſave their lives by a precipitate flight; and thus the French king made himſelf maſter of that important fortreſs, without ſtrik-

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ing a blow. The French army now made a rapid progreſs; and in anſwer to all the advances John made towards a peace, Philip inſiſted, that he ſhould reſign to his nephew all his dominions on the continent, and be contented with the poſſeſſion of England; but there ſoon happened an event, which turned the ſcale in favour of John, and gave him the ſuperiority.

Young Arthur, fond of glory, had advanced into Poictou at the head of two hundred knights, in order to attack Guienne; and hearing, as he paſſed near Mirabau, that queen Eleanor, his grand-mother, who had always oppoſed his intereſt, was lodged there, and was only protected by ruinous fortifications and a weak garriſon, he inſtantly reſolved to lay ſiege to that fortreſs, and make himſelf maſter of her perſon. Having taken the place, queen Eleanor retired into a tower, where ſhe found means to make John acquainted with her diſtreſs. Rouſed from his indolence at this intelligence, he flew to her relief with an army of Engliſh and Brabanters, fell on the camp of Arthur, who had been joined by ſome of the barons of Poictou, before he was aware of the danger; and diſperſed his little army, after their fighting with the utmoſt intrepidity, and took him priſoner, together with the count de la Marche, Geoffry de Luſignan, and the moſt conſiderable of the revolted barons; after which he returned into Normandy in triumph. When Philip, who had inveſted Arques, in that dutchy, raiſed the ſiege, and retired at his approach. Moſt

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of the priſoners were ſent over to England, but Arthur was confined in the caſtle of Falaiſe.

Here the king had a conference with Arthur, in which he repreſented the folly of his pretenſions, and inſiſted on his renouncing his alliance with Philip, who had encouraged him to live in a ſtate of enmity with all his family: but the brave, though imprudent prince, rendered more untractable by his misfortunes, boldly maintained the juſtice of his cauſe, aſſerted his claim both to the French provinces and the crown of England; and demanded him to reſtore the ſon of his elder brother to the poſſeſſion of his dominions. John perceiving, from this ſpirited conduct, that the young prince, though now a priſoner, might hereafter prove a dangerous enemy, baſely reſolved to prevent all future danger, by depriving him of life; and Arthur was never more heard of. The circumſtances which attended this deed of darkneſs were, doubtleſs, carefully concealed, and are variouſly related: but the following ſeems the moſt probable account. It is ſaid, that the king firſt deſired William de la Braye, one of his ſervants, to diſpatch the young prince, but this he poſitively refuſed, ſaying, that he was a gentleman, and not a hangman. Another was then found, who agreed to perform that work of darkneſs; and with proper orders was diſpatched to Falaiſe; but Hubert de Bourg, the king's chamberlain, and conſtable of the caſtle, pretending that he himſelf would execute the murder, ſent back the aſſaſſin,

faſſin, and ſpreading a report that the young prince was dead, publickly performed all the ceremonies of his interment: but afterwards finding that the Bretons, ſuppoſing him to be murdered, vowed revenge, and that all the revolted barons obſtinately perſevered in their rebellion, he revealed the ſecret, and publickly declared, that the duke of Britanny was ſtill alive in his cuſtody. A prince, endowed with common prudence, would have learned from this ſpecimen of the people's ſentiments, how dangerous it would be to make any attempt upon the life of Arthur; but inſtead of being cautioned by the prodigious rage his ſuppoſed death had excited, he ordered him to be removed to the caſtle of Rouen; and coming thither in a boat during the night, ordered Arthur to be brought to him. The young prince, ſenſible of his danger, and ſubdued by the continuance of his misfortunes, is ſaid to have fallen on his knees before his uncle, and to have begged for mercy; but the ſavage tyrant making no reply, ſtabbed him with his own hand; and cauſing a ſtone to be faſtened to the dead body, ordered it to be thrown into the Seine.

Arthur being now no longer heard of, and the people becoming ſenſible that he was murdered, they looked upon the king with ſuch horror and deteſtation, that John retained a very precarious authority in France. The Bretons, enraged at the diſappointment of all their hopes, became implacable; and fixing the ſucceſſion of their government, reſolved to

revenge

revenge the murder of their ſovereign. John had in his power his niece Eleanor, Arthur's ſiſter, uſually called the damſel of Britanny; and taking her over with him to England, kept her in priſon during the remainder of his life. The Bretons, deſpairing of their being able to recover that princeſs, choſe for their ſovereign Alice, a younger daughter of Conſtantia, by her ſecond marriage with Gui de Thouars, and entruſted that nobleman with the government of the dutchy. Mean while, Conſtantia and the ſtates of Britanny, laid their complaints before Philip, as their liege lord, and demanded juſtice for the violence John had committed on the perſon of Arthur. Philip, on this application, which he received with pleaſure, ſummoned John to ſtand his trial before him; and on his not appearing, paſſed ſentence upon that prince; declaring him guilty of parricide and felony; and judged him to forfeit all his ſeigniories and fiefs in France, to his ſuperior lord.

Philip, whoſe ambitious views had been hitherto reſtrained by the wiſe policy of Henry, and the martial genius of Richard, having thus obtained, from the conduct of this baſe and odious prince, a favourable opportunity of expelling the king of England from France, and of annexing to his crown ſo many conſiderable fiefs, which, during ſeveral ages, had been diſmembered from it. Many of the other great vaſſals, whoſe jealouſy might have obſtructed the execution of this project, were not then in a ſituation to oppoſe it; and the reſt, either

either ſtood by with indifference, or lent their aſſiſtance to the dangerous aggrandizement of their ſuperior lord. The count of Champagne was an infant, and under his guardianſhip: the earls of Blois and Flanders were engaged in the holy war: the dutchy of Britanny, enraged at the murder of their prince, promoted all his meaſures; and the general defection of the vaſſals of John, rendered every enterprize againſt him, eaſy and ſucceſsful. Philip, after taking ſeveral fortreſſes beyond the Loire, received the ſubmiſſion of the count of Alençon, who having deſerted John, delivered up to the French all the places under his command; after which, Philip ſeparated his forces, in order to give them ſome repoſe.

John now ſuddenly collecting ſome troops, laid ſiege to Alençon, when Philip being unable to re-aſſemble his army, went to a tournament at Moret, in the Gatinois, to which had reſorted all the chief nobility of France, and the neighbouring countries, in order to ſignalize their proweſs; and appearing before them, deſired their aſſiſtance, pointing out the plains of Alençon, as the moſt honourable field for diſplaying their martial ſpirit. Thoſe brave knights vowed to be revenged on the baſe parricide; and putting themſelves, with all their attendants, under Philip's command, immediately marched to raiſe the ſiege of Alençon; when John hearing of his approach, raiſed the ſiege, and in his fury, abandoned his tents, baggage, and machines, which fell into the hands of his enemies.

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This was almoſt the laſt exploit of that cowardly prince, for the defence of his dominions in France. He remained entirely unactive at Rouen, ſpending his time in paſtimes and amuſemenſs with his young wife, as if he had been in a ſtate of the moſt profound tranquility, and his affairs in the moſt happy ſituation. If war was ever mentioned, he gave himſelf ſuch vaunting airs, as made him ſtill more deſpicable and ridiculous. "Let the French go "on, ſaid he, in one day I will take what it "has coſt them years to acquire." So extraordinary was his indolence and ſtupidity, that people endeavoured to account for it, by ſuppoſing that he was thrown into this lethargy by magical incantations. The Engliſh barons, finding their time waſted to no purpoſe, and that they muſt ſuffer the mortification of ſeeing the progreſs of the French arms without reſiſtance, ſecretly returned to England, and none thought of defending a prince who ſeemed to have deſerted himſelf.

While John thus neglected every proper means of ſecuring his dominions, he had the meanneſs to apply to pope Innocent III. whom he entreated to interpoſe his authority between him and the king of France. Innocent, pleaſed at an opportunity of exerting the ſuperiority that was thus given him, ſent to order Philip, to put a ſtop to the progreſs of his arms, and to conclude a peace with the king of England. But this meſſage was received with indignation by the French barons, who diſclaiming the temporal authority exerted by the pontiff,

tiff, vowed to aſſiſt their prince againſt all his enemies, to the utmoſt of their power; whence Philip, inſtead of paying obedience to theſe commands, laid ſiege to Chateau Gaillard, the principal fortreſs that remained to guard the frontiers of Normandy.

This fortreſs was ſeated partly on a rock, and partly on an iſland oppoſite to it, in the Seine; and had every advantage which either nature or art could beſtow for its defence. King Richard had ſpared no labour or expence in fortifying it; and it was defended by Roger de Lacy, conſtable of Cheſter, a reſolute officer, with a numerous garriſon. Philip, who deſpaired of taking it by force, propoſed to reduce it by famine; and in order to cut off its communication with the adjacent country, threw a bridge over the Seine, while he formed a blockade with his army. The brave earl of Pembroke, who was diſtinguiſhed by his vigour and capacity, reſolved to endeavour to brake through the intrenchments of the French, and to throw relief into the place. He was at the head of an army of three thouſand horſe and four thouſand foot; and ſuddenly attacked Philip's camp in the night. He had left orders, that a fleet of ſeventy flat-bottomed veſſels ſhould ſail up the Seine, and at the ſame inſtant, when he was engaged by land, deſtroy the bridge and enter the town. But the wind and current, by retarding the veſſels, prevented the appearance of the fleet before the morning, when Pembroke, though ſucceſsful in the beginning of the action, had been repulſed

with conſiderable loſs, and Philip had leiſure to oppoſe theſe new aſſailants, who were alſo repulſed. No farther attempt was made for the relief of Chateau Gaillard, and Philip was allowed leiſure to conduct and finiſh the ſiege. Roger de Lacy defended the place with great reſolution during twelve months; and having bravely repelled every attack, and patiently borne all the hardſhips of famine, was at length overpowered by a ſudden aſſault in the night, and he, with his garriſon, made priſoners of war. Philip, however, admiring his valour, treated him with great reſpect, and allowed him the whole city of Paris, for the place of his confinement.

This bulwark of Normandy being thus taken, the whole province was expoſed to the inroads of the French king; when John, deſpairing of his being able to defend it, ſecretly prepared veſſels for flight; and to convince the Normans that he had reſolved to abandon them, ordered the fortifications of Montfort l' Amauri, Moulineux, and Pont de l' Arche, to be demoliſhed; and believing his barons to be univerſally engaged in a conſpiracy againſt him, entruſted the government of Normandy to Lupicaire and Archas Martin, two mercenary Brabanters.

Philip now puſhed his conqueſts with vigour and ſucceſs againſt the Normans; and firſt beſieged Falaiſe, when Lupicaire, who commanded that impregnable fortreſs, not only ſurrendered it to Philip, but he and his troops enliſted in the ſervice of that prince, and carried

ried on hoſtilities againſt his ancient maſter. Caen, Coutance, and all the other places in Lower Normandy, ſoon fell into the hands of the French, while Gui de Thouars, at the head of the Bretons, broke into the other diviſion of the province, and took mount St. Michael, Avrenches, and all the other fortreſſes in that neighbourhood. The Normans, who hated the French, would willingly have defended themſelves to the laſt extremity, if John had appeared to conduct them; but finding no reſource, every city opened its gates as ſoon as Philip appeared before it, except Rouen, Verneuil, and Arques, who reſolved to maintain their liberties; and in 1205, formed a conſpiracy for their mutual defence.

Philip began with the attack of Rouen, where the inhabitants had ſuch an inveterate hatred of the French, that, on the appearance of his army, they had the ſavage cruelty to put all the natives of that country to death, whom they found within their walls. Yet, after the French had taken ſome of their outworks, ſeeing no reſource, they conſented to capitulate, and demanded thirty days to inform the prince of their danger, and to obtain ſuccour; and that time being expired, as no ſupply arrived, they opened their gates to Philip, and ſoon after, the whole province followed their example, and ſubmitted to the French. Thus was this important dutchy, in 1205, reunited to the crown of France, after it had been near two hundred and ninety-two years ſubject to the Normans. He then marched into

the weſtern provinces, and ſoon reduced under his dominion Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and part of Poictou. Thus the French, within three years, received ſuch an acceſſion of power and grandeur by the puſillanimity of John, as, in the ordinary courſe of things, might have required ſeveral ages to attain.

John, in order to cover this diſgrace, on his arrival in England, loudly exclaimed againſt his barons, who, he pretended, had deſerted his ſtandard in Normandy; and, as a puniſhment for this offence, arbitrarily extorted from them, a ſeventh part of all their moveables. Soon after he compelled them to grant him two marks and a half on each knight's fee, for an expedition into Normandy, but did not attempt to go there. The next year he ſummoned all the barons of England to attend him on that expedition, and collected ſhips from the ſea-ports; but meeting with ſome oppoſition from his miniſters, he diſmiſſed both the fleet and army, and renewed his exclamations againſt the barons. He next put to ſea with a ſmall army, and it was believed, that he had at laſt reſolved to expoſe himſelf to the utmoſt hazards for the recovery of his dominions; but after a few days, they were ſurprized to ſee him return to England, without attempting any thing.

In 1206, he ventured to carry his hoſtile meaſures one ſtep farther. Gui de Thouars, who governed Britanny, becoming jealous of Philip's rapid progreſs, promiſed to join the king of England with all his forces; upon which John ventured to ſail with a conſiderable army;

army; and having landed at Rochelle, marched to Angers, which he took and reduced to aſhes: but Philip approaching with an army, he was again ſeized with a pannic; and inſtantly making propoſals for a peace, a place of interview was fixed: but inſtead of keeping this engagement, he ſtole off with his army, and embarking at Rochelle, returned to England. However, by the mediation of the pope, he at laſt concluded a truce with Philip for two years.

Thus the Engliſh, while oppreſſed by taxes and illegal impoſitions, had the mortification to ſee the national honour degraded by the cowardice and irreſolution of an infamous prince. Pope Innocent III. who now filled the papal chair, began to take advantage of his imbecility and puſillanimity, and a number of circumſtances conduced to bring him under the yoke of the eccleſiaſtical power. In 1205, Hubert, the primate, dying, the monks of Chriſt-Church Canterbury, poſſeſſing the right of voting in the election of their archbiſhop, ſome of the juniors of that order met clandeſtinely, on the very night of Hubert's death, and preſumed to chuſe, without any congé d'elire, from the king, Reginald, their ſub-prior, to ſucceed him; and before midnight, inſtalled him in the archiepiſcopal throne: they then enjoined him to obſerve the ſtricteſt ſecreſy, and inſtantly ſent him to Rome, to obtain the confirmation of his election. Reginald's vanity, however, prevailed over his prudence, and he no ſooner arrived in Flanders,

than he made known to every one the deſign of his journey; and this news was ſoon brought to England. John was enraged at this attempt to fill ſuch an important office, without his knowledge or conſent. The ſuffragan biſhops of Canterbury, who ought to have concurred in the choice of their primate, were no leſs diſpleaſed at their being excluded from this election: the elder monks of Chriſt-Church thought themſelves injured by their juniors proceeding in this irrrgular manner; and the juniors themſelves, diſguſted at Reginald's revealing the ſecret, were aſhamed of their conduct, Hence it was univerſally agreed, that it was neceſſary to remedy this falſe ſtep. The king knowing that the affair would be canvaſſed before the pope, reſolved to make the new election perfectly unexceptionable, and departing from the right claimed by his predeceſſors, left the choice to the cannons of Chriſt-Church, only giving them a private intimation, that he would be pleaſed, if they choſe for their primate, John de Gray, biſhop of Norwich. That prelate was accordingly elected; and John, to prevent all diſputes, endeavoured to perſuade the ſuffragan biſhops, not to inſiſt on their claim of concurring in the election. They, however, ſent an agent to ſupport their cauſe before Innocent; while the king and the monaſtery of Chriſt-Church ſent twelve monks of that order, to ſupport the election of the biſhop of Norwich.

The pope immediately ſet aſide the claim of the ſuffragans: Reginald's election was ſo irregular

regular and fraudulent, that it was impoſſible to defend it; but Innocent maintained, that though that election was invalid, it ought previouſly to have been ſet aſide by him, before the monks could have a right to proceed to a new election; and that, therefore, the choice of the biſhop of Norwich was as uncannonical as the other; it was therefore reſolved to introduce a precedent, by which the ſee of Canterbury ſhould ever after be at the diſpoſal of the ſovereign pontiff. Innocent, therefore, ſent for the twelve monks deputed by the monaſtery, and commanded them, under pain of excommunication, to chuſe cardinal Langton for their primate. The monks in vain repreſented, that they had received no authority from their convent for that purpoſe; that without a previous writ from the king, the election would be eſteemed irregular, and that they were no more than agents for another perſon, whoſe right they had no power to abandon. There was only one of them who had the courage to perſevere in this oppoſition: all the reſt, terrified by the menaces of the pope, complied with his orders.

Innocent apprehending, that this uſurpation on the right of the crown of England, would be reſented by that court, wrote John a ſoothing letter, and ſent him four gold rings ſet with precious ſtones, which were repreſented as invaluable, on account of the myſteries they contained. He was directed to conſider their form, their number, their matter, and their colour. Their form being round, repreſented

ted eternity, and ought to remind him, that he ſhould aſpire from earthly to heavenly objects, and from temporal things to things eternal. Four being a ſquare number, denoted ſteadineſs of mind for ever fixed on the firm baſis of the cardinal virtues. The matter being gold, ſignified wiſdom, the moſt precious of all accompliſhments, and which Solomon preferred to power, riches, and all outward attainments. The ſplendor of the topaz, repreſented good works; the blue colour of the ſaphire, faith; the verdure of the emerald, hope; and the redneſs of the ruby, charity.

Notwithſtanding this preſent, which John was thus directed to conſider as invaluable, he was enraged at this attempt to deprive him of one of the moſt important prerogatives of his crown; and immediately vented his paſſion on the monks of Chriſt-Church, who were diſpoſed to ſupport the election made by the agents they had ſent to Rome. He therefore ſent Henry de Cornhulle and Fulk de Cantelupe, two ill-bred knights, to expel them the convent, and ſeize their revenues. They entered it with drawn ſwords, ordered the prior and monks to quit the kingdom, threatening that if they dared to refuſe, they would burn them and the convent together.

Innocent foreſeeing, from theſe imprudent meaſures, that John would be unable to ſupport the conteſt, ſteadily perſevered in his pretenſions, and exhorted him not to oppoſe God and the church any longer; and ſent the biſhop

of

of London, Ely, and Worceſter, to intimate that, if he perſevered in this ſtate of diſobediance, he ſhould be obliged to put the kingdom under an interdict. On this occaſion, all the other prelates threw themſelves on their knees before the king, and with tears in their eyes, entreated him to prevent this ſentence, by ſpeedily ſubmitting to his ſpiritual father, by receiving the new elected primate, and by allowing the monks of Chriſt Church to return. John, burſting into the moſt indecent invectives, ſwore, by God's teeth, his uſual oath, that ſhould the pope preſume to put his kingdom under an interdict, he would ſend him all the biſhops and clergy of England, and confiſcate their revenues; threatening, that if he from thence forward ſhould catch any Romans in his dominions, he would ſet a mark upon them that ſhould diſtinguiſh them from other nations, by cutting off their noſes and putting out their eyes. Notwithſtanding this idle violence, John was ſo apprehenſive of the nobility and people, that he did not dare to aſſemble the ſtates of the kingdom, who would probably have adhered to any other prince, in vigorouſly defending the liberties of the nation againſt theſe uſurpations of the court of Rome. The pope, therefore, perceiving his weakneſs, at laſt fulminated the ſentence of interdict, a ſentence artfully calculated to ſtrike the ſenſes, and to operate with irreſiſtible force on the minds of the people. The nation was ſuddenly deprived of all exterior acts of religion: the altars ſtripped of

their

their ornaments; the croſſes, the relicks, the pictures, the ſtatues of the ſaints were laid on the ground; and, as if the air itſelf was polluted, were carefully covered. The uſe of bells entirely ceaſed; they were even removed from the ſteeples and laid on the earth, with the other ſacred utenſils. The doors were ſhut while maſs was celebrated, and none but prieſts admitted. The laity partook of no religious rite, except the baptiſm of new born infants, and communion to the dying. Marriage was celebrated in the church-yards; the people were prohibited the uſe of meat, debarred from all pleaſures and entertainments; forbid to ſalute each other, or to beſtow a decent attention to their own perſons or apparel. In ſhort, the dead not being allowed to be interred in conſecrated ground, were thrown into ditches or buried in common fields; and their obſequies were unattended with prayers or any ſacred ceremony. Thus every circumſtance had the appearance of the deepeſt diſtreſs, and of the immediate apprehenſion of the divine vengeance.

John, in order to oppoſe his temporal to their ſpiritual terrors, inſtantly confiſcated the revenues of the clergy who obeyed the interdict; baniſhed the biſhops, ſhut up the monks in their convents, allowing them only a ſmall part of their incomes to provide them with food and raiment; and treated, not only Langton's adherents, but all who were willing to obey the commands of Rome, with the utmoſt rigour.

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This quarrel between the king and Innocent, continued for ſeveral years; and though a conſiderable number of the clergy obeyed the king's orders by celebrating divine ſervice, they complied with the utmoſt reluctance, and were conſidered by the people, as men who ſacrificed their conſciences to temporal regards and intereſts: at the ſame time, the more ſenſibly to diſtreſs the clergy, and to expoſe them to reproach and ridicule, he threw all their concubines into priſon *.

While things were in this violent ſituation, John attempted military expeditions againſt Scotland, Ireland, and the Welch: and generally prevailed, more from the weakneſs of his enemies, than from his own vigour or abilities. In the mean time, the danger to which his throne was expoſed from the diſſatisfaction of the clergy, encreaſed his propenſion to tyranny; and he appears even to have wantonly diſguſted all orders of men, eſpecially his

* It muſt here be obſerved, that after archbiſhop Anſelm had rigorouſly executed, in England, the canons which enjoined the celibacy of the clergy, the eccleſiaſtics gave almoſt univerſally into the uſe of concubinage; to which the court of Rome made but a ſlight oppoſition; and it at length became every where uſual for prieſts to apply to the ordinary, to obtain a formal liberty for this indulgence. The biſhop generally took care to prevent the practice degenerating into licentiouſneſs: he confined the prieſt to the uſe of one woman; required him to be conſtant to her bed, and obliged him to provide for her ſubſiſtance and that of her children. M. Paris, p. 158.

nobles,

nobles, he diſhonoured their families by his licentious amours; attempted to deprive them of the pleaſures of hunting, hawking, and fowling; and that his deer might have a ready acceſs into their fields, ordered the hedges and fences of his foreſts to be levelled. Conſcious of the general hatred he incurred by his abſurd conduct, he in 1208, obliged his nobles to give him hoſtages as a ſecurity for their allegiance; and they were conſtrained to put into his hands their ſons, or near relations. His meſſengers coming to the caſtle of William de Braouſe, a baron of great diſtinction, his lady replied, that ſhe would never truſt her ſon in the hands of one who had murdered his own nephew. Her huſband reproved her for this ſevere ſpeech, and immediately fled with her and his ſon into Ireland, where he endeavoured to conceal himſelf and them; but the unhappy family were diſcovered in their retreat; on which the king ordered them to be thrown into priſon, where they periſhed for want of food; and the baron himſelf narrowly eſcaped by flying into France.

As the ſentence of interdict had not produced the effect which the court of Rome had expected, John had reaſon to apprehend the ſentence of excommunication would be paſſed againſt him, and might be attended with the moſt dangerous conſequences. Innocent, after keeping the thunder long ſuſpended over his head, in 1209, gave authority to the biſhops of London, Worceſter, and Ely, to denounce that dreadful ſentence againſt him. Theſe prelates obeyed, though their brethren were deter-

deterred from publiſhing, according to the pope's injunction, the ſentence in the ſeveral churches of their dioceſes.

This ſentence was no ſooner known, than its effects began to appear. Geoffry, archdeacon of Norwich, who was one of the barons of the exchequer, being told of it while ſitting on the bench, mentioned to his colleague the danger of ſerving under an excommunicated king, and immediately riſing, left the court. This John no ſooner heard, than ordering him to be ſeized, he threw him into priſon, and cauſed his ſhoulders to be covered with a great leaden cope: and by this and other ſeverities ſoon put an end to his life. The biſhops, on finding themſelves expoſed either to the king's jealouſy, or the hatred of the people, gradually ſtole out of the kingdom; ſo that at laſt, there were only three prelates to perform the epiſcopal office. Many of the nobility imitated their example, and moſt of thoſe who ſtayed, were juſtly ſuſpected of having ſecretly entered into a confederacy againſt the king.

John was alarmed at the dangerous ſituation in which he was now placed, and which, by a proper degree of prudence, he might have prevented; but could not now, by any virtues or exertion of abilities, be retrieved. He, however, ſent for Langton, and had a conference with him at Dover, wherein he offered to acknowledge him as primate; to ſubmit to the pope; to reſtore the clergy he had baniſhed, and to pay them a limited ſum as a compenſation for the produce of their revenues.

But Langton, not ſatisfied with theſe conceſſions, demanded that full reſtitution and reparation ſhould be made to all the clergy; a condition which the king was, probably, then unable to fulfil; and as he foreſaw that theſe damages would amount to an immenſe ſum, he broke up the conference.

The next ſentence John had to fear from the court of Rome, was abſolving all his ſubjects from their oaths of fidelity and allegiance, declaring every one excommunicated, who, either in public or private, had any commerce with him, or even at his councils, at his table, or in private converſation; and this ſentence was, in 1212, denounced againſt him with the utmoſt ſolemnity. John, however, ſtill perſevered in his contumacy, and nothing remained but the ſentence of depoſition; and Innocent reſolved to dart this laſt thunderbolt againſt the refractory monarch. As this ſentence required an armed force to put it in execution, the pope caſt his eye on Philip king of France, and offered that monarch, beſides the remiſſion of his ſins, and numberleſs ſpiritual benefits, the property and poſſeſſion of the kingdom of England, as the reward of his labour.

Philip immediately ſummoned all the vaſſals of his crown to attend him at Rouen, levied a great army, and collected a fleet of ſeventeen hundred veſſels, in the ports of Normandy and Picardy, and prepared a force that appeared equal to the greatneſs of his enterprize. On the other hand, John iſſued out writs, requiring

ing not only the attendance of all his military vaſſals, but of all able-bodied men at Dover, in defence of the kingdom, and a great number appearing, he choſe out of them an army of 60,000 men, who had they been united by their love of the king, and their zeal in the defence of their country, might have proved invincible: but John being anathematized by the pope, they regarded him with horror: they were alſo exaſperated by his tyranny; and deſpiſed him for his cowardice.

Pandolf, the pope's legate, had been appointed to head this expedition; but before he left Rome had a conference with his holineſs, in which he aſked him, if the deſperate ſituation of the king of England, ſhould induce him to ſubmit to the apoſtolic ſee, he ſhould, without Philip's conſent, grant him any terms of accommodation; the pope anſwered, that he ſhould, and explained the conditions on which he was willing to be reconciled to him. Pandolf, therefore, no ſooner arrived in the north of France, than he ſent over two knights templars, to deſire an intervew with the king at Dover, which was readily granted, and there the legate repreſented to John in ſuch ſtrong colours, the ſecret combination of his vaſſals, the general diſaffection of his ſubjects, and Philip's prodigious armament, that John ſeeing his loſt condition, yielded at diſcretion, and eagerly ſubſcribed all the conditions propoſed to him. Among other articles, he promiſed to ſubmit entirely to the judgment of the pope; to acknowledge Langton for primate;

to reſtore all the exiled clergy and laity, whom he had baniſhed on account of his conteſt with Rome; to reſtore their goods, give them a compenſation for all damages, and inſtantly conſign 8000 l. in part of payment; and to reſtore immediately, to his grace and favour all who were outlawed and impriſoned for their adherence to the pope. Four barons joined with the king in ſwearing to obſerve this treaty.

But the king's ignominy was not yet complete. He was enjoined by the legate, as the firſt ſpecimen of his obedience, to reſign his crown and kingdom to the church, which he obſerved would be the moſt effectual means of preventing the French invaſion. To this humiliating condition John ſubmitted, a charter in which he declared, that not conſtrained by fear, but of his own free-will, and by the advice and conſent of his barons, he had for the remiſſion of his own ſins and thoſe of his family, reſigned England and Ireland to God, to St. Peter, St. Paul, and to pope Innocent, and his ſucceſſors in the apoſtolic chair: he agreed to hold thoſe kingdoms as a feudatory of the church of Rome, by the annual payment of 7000 marks for England and 3000 for Ireland.

In conſequence of this agreement, John, the next day, which was the 15th of May 1213, repaired to Dover church attended by Pandolf, and a numerous train of lords and officers of the army, where, in the preſence of them all, he took off his crown, and laid it with the other enſigns of royalty at the feet of the legate,

legate, who was ſeated on a throne; after which he ſigned the above charter, and then did homage to Pandolf as the pope's repreſentative, with all the ſubmiſſive rites which the feudal law required of vaſſals to their liege-lord. He threw himſelf on his knees before the legate, and lifting up his joined hands, put them into thoſe of Pandolf, then ſwore fealty to the pope, and paid part of the tribute, which he owed for his kingdom, as the patrimony of St. Peter. Pandolf, elated by this triumph of the ſacerdotal over the regal power, diſcovered extravagant ſymptoms of joy and exultation, and trampled on the money that was laid at his feet, as a mark of the kingdom's ſubjection. Every ſpectator glowed with reſentment, but none dared to take notice of it, except the archbiſhop of Dublin, who exclaimed aloud againſt ſuch intolerable inſolence. Pandolf not ſatisfied with theſe mortifying acts of ſuperiority, kept the crown and ſceptre five days, and then reſtored them as a ſpecial favour of the holy ſee; though he refuſed to free the king from the excommunication and interdict, till the loſſes of the eccleſiaſtics could be eſtimated, and they had received a full reſtitution and compenſation.

Notwithſtanding John's being reduced to this abject ſtate, he ſtill diſcovered the ſame diſpoſition to tyranny, that had occaſioned his misfortunes. A hermit named Peter of Pomfret had foretold, that the king ſhould loſe his crown this very year, for which he had been confined in Corfe caſtle, and now

the king reſolved to puniſh him as an impoſtor, though the hermit juſtly pleaded, that his prophecy was accompliſhed, and that the king had reſigned his crown and royal independant authority. This defence was ſuppoſed to augment his guilt, and he was dragged at a horſe's tail to Warham, where both he and his ſons were hanged on a gibbet.

Pandolf, now returning to France, congratulated Philip on the ſucceſs of his pious enterprize; and let him know, that filled with the terror of the French arms, John had returned to a juſt ſenſe of his guilt; had paid obedience to the ſee of Rome; conſented to do homage for his dominions to the pope; and thus having rendered his kingdom a part of the patrimony of St. Peter, no Chriſtian prince could attack him without the moſt flagrant impiety. At hearing this, Philip was filled with rage, and exclaimed, that influenced by the pope, he had undertaken an expedition, on which he had expended above ſixty thouſand pounds, and at the very time when it might have been attended with infallible ſucceſs, he was fruſtrated of his purpoſe, and loaded with the whole expence, while the pope obtained all the advantage. Then threatening that he would no longer be his dupe, he aſſembled his vaſſals, informed them of the ill treatment he had received, of the fraudulent and intereſted conduct of Innocent; and told them, that notwithſtanding the inhibitions and menaces of the legate, he was determined to perſevere. The French barons unwilling to be diſap-

diſappointed in the expectation of the glory and riches they had expected to reap from this enterprize, vowed, that they would follow their prince in his expedition. The earl of Flanders alone, who had concluded a ſecret treaty with John, declared againſt the impiety of the undertaking, and retired with his forces; when Philip, unwilling to leave ſo dangerous an enemy behind him, turned his arms againſt the dominions of that prince.

In the mean time, the earl of Saliſbury, the king's natural brother, had aſſembled the Engliſh fleet, and having received orders to attack the French ſhips in their harbours, he performed this ſervice with ſuch ſucceſs, that he took three hundred of them, and deſtroyed a hundred more; when Philip finding it impoſſible to hinder the reſt from falling into his hands, ſet fire to them himſelf, and thus rendered his enterprize impracticable.

John, inſenſible of his paſt diſgrace, and elated with this ſucceſs, reſolved, in his turn, to invade France, and recover all the provinces Philip had formerly wreſted from him. This expedition he propoſed to the barons already aſſembled for the defence of their country; but they had no proſpect of ſucceſs in an enterprize conducted by ſuch a leader; therefore pretending that their time of ſervice was elapſed, and their proviſions conſumed, they refuſed to ſecond this undertaking. John, however, being now reſolute, embarked with a few of his followers, and ſailed to Jerſey, weakly imagining, that the barons would be aſhamed

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to ſtay behind. But finding himſelf miſtaken, he returned to England, and raiſing ſome troops, threatened to be revenged on his nobles for their deſertion. Here the archbiſhop of Canterbury interpoſed; and forbidding the king to think of ſuch an attempt, threatened to renew the ſentence of excommunication, if he levied war on his ſubjects, before the kingdom was freed from the ſentence of interdict.

Innocent, by receiving the homage of John, and admitting him to the rank of a vaſſal, had virtually annulled his depoſition, whence his ſubjects were again bound by their oaths of allegiance; but the ſeveral anathemas pronounced againſt him were to be recalled with the ſame gradual progreſs with which they had been iſſued. The exiled prelates returned to England in great triumph, and Langton appeared at their head. The king, on hearing of their approach, went to meet them; and throwing himſelf before them on the ground, entreated them, with tears, to have compaſſion on him and his kingdom. The primate obſerving theſe marks of repentance, led him to the chapter-houſe of Wincheſter, where, on the twentieth of July, he again ſwore fealty and obedience to pope Innocent and his ſucceſſors, promiſed to love, maintain, and defend the church and clergy; engaged to reſtore the good laws of his anceſtors, particularly thoſe of Edward the Confeſſor; and to maintain juſtice and right in all his dominions. The primate then gave him abſolution, and admitted him to dine with him.

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The ſentence of interdict was, however, ſtill in force; and Nicholas, biſhop of Freſcati, coming into England in the room of Pandolf, declared, that the pope would not take off that ſentence, till every thing was reſtored to the clergy which had been taken from them, and they had received ample reparation for all the damages they had ſuſtained. Certain barons being appointed to take an account of theſe claims, John was aſtoniſhed at the greatneſs of the ſums to which the clergy made their loſſes amount; the monks of Canterbury alone demanding no leſs than twenty thouſand marks. The king, to put a ſtop to theſe pretenſions, which appeared endleſs, offered the clergy a hundred thouſand marks for a final acquittal, but this they rejected with diſdain. However the pope, willing to favour his new vaſſal, directed his legate to accommodate the affair, and a ſum was accepted, by which the biſhops and conſiderable abbots obtained full reparation, while the inferior clergy were obliged to reſt contented under their loſſes. The interdict being now taken off, the king ſolemnly renewed his profeſſions of homage and obedience to the ſee of Rome, by a new charter ſealed with gold.

This troubleſome affair being at laſt brought to a concluſion, the king, as if he had nothing to expect but triumphs and victories, went in 1214 to Poictou, which ſtill acknowledged his authority; and reſolving to make war on Philip, laid ſiege to a caſtle near Angiers; but prince Lewis, Philip's ſon, approaching with

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an army, he raiſed the ſiege with ſuch precipitation, that he left his tents, baggage, and military machines behind him; and again returned with diſgrace to England. About the ſame time, John hearing of a great and deciſive victory gained by Philip at Bovines, over the emperor Otho, who had entered France at the head of 150,000 Germans, reſolved from thenceforward never more to oppoſe that formidable monarch, but to content himſelf with ruling his own kingdom; and his cloſe connection with the pope, which he reſolved at all events to maintain, made him imagine, that he ſhould be able to do that without difficulty; but other misfortunes awaited him which he did not expect.

John equally odious and contemptible, both in his public and private life, gave a general diſcontent to all ranks of men, by his endleſs exactions and impoſitions; and raiſed ſuch a ſpirit, that the barons reſolved to demand the reſtoration of their privileges. This deſign was promoted by Langton, archbiſhop of Canterbury, who, though obtruded on the nation by the ſee of Rome, was an Engliſhman, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a moſt glorious patriot in the cauſe of liberty. He had formed a plan for reforming the government, and prepared the way for the execution of it, by inſerting thoſe ſingular clauſes, in the oath he had adminiſtered to the king, before he would abſolve him from the ſentence of excommunication. Soon after, at a private meeting of ſome of the principal barons at London, he laid before them

them a copy of Henry the Firſt's charter, which he ſaid he had happily found in a monaſtery; and exhorted them to inſiſt on its being renewed; on which the barons ſwore, that they would loſe their lives rather than not comply with ſo reaſonable, ſo honourable and juſt a demand. The confederacy ſoon ſpread, and comprehended moſt of the barons in England; on which the primate, under colour of devotion, ſummoned a more numerous meeting at St. Edmonſbury, where he again produced the charter; renewed his exhortations to proceed with unanimity and vigour; and repreſented in the ſtrongeſt light, the tyranny to which they had been long ſubject, and from which they were now to free themſelves and their poſterity. The barons, animated by his eloquence, incited by the ſenſe of the injuries they had ſuffered, and encouraged by the power and numbers of thoſe who were preſent, ſolemnly ſwore before the high altar, to be faithful to each other, to inſiſt on their demands, and to make an endleſs war on the king till their undoubted privileges were granted; and agreed, that at Chriſtmas they would preſent their petition to the king in a body. They then ſeparated, after mutually promiſing to enliſt men to purchaſe arms, and to ſupply their caſtles with proviſions.

On the day appointed, which was the ſixth of January 1215, the barons appeared in London, and demanded of the king, that, according to his oath before the primate, as well as out of reſpect to their juſt rights, he would grant

grant them a renewal of Henry the First's charter. John, alarmed at their power, unanimity and zeal, promised to give them a positive answer to their petition at Easter; and offered them the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Ely, and the earl of Pembroke, as sureties for the fulfilling his promise. This the barons accepted, and returned peaceably to their castles.

In order to break this league of the barons, John endeavoured to gain the clergy on his side; and in about a week after, granted them a charter, in which he relinquished for ever, a privilege for which all his ancestors had zealously contended, by allowing them a free election on all vacancies; he also made a vow to lead an army against the infidels in the Holy Land, and took on him the Cross, in hopes of receiving from the church the protection granted to every one who entered into that meritorious engagement. He also sent an agent to Rome, in order to appeal to the pope against the violence of his nobles. The barons also dispatched an agent to endeavour to engage the pope in their interest; and to prevail on him, as their feudal lord, to interpose his authority with the king, and oblige him to restore all their just and undoubted privileges.

Innocent was concerned at observing the disturbances which had arisen in England, and was most inclined to favour John, who he found was willing to sacrifice every consideration to his present safety. He, however, wrote letters to the king, the prelate, and the nobility: he advised

adviſed the firſt to treat the nobles with grace and indulgence; and to grant them ſuch of their demands, as ſhould appear juſt and reaſonable. He exhorted the ſecond to employ their good offices in putting an end to civil diſcord, by making peace between the contending parties; and to the laſt, he expreſſed his diſapprobation of their conduct, in reſolving to make uſe of force, to extort conceſſions from their reluctant ſovereign.

From the tenor of theſe letters, the barons perceived, that they muſt expect to have the pope as well as the king for their enemy; but they had already gone too far to recede, and their paſſions were ſo deeply engaged, that ſuperſtition itſelf had no longer the power to controul them. At the ſame time they were encouraged, by perceiving that the moſt conſiderable of the prelates, as well as all the inferior clergy, highly approved their conduct.

At the approach of Eaſter, when the barons were to expect the king's anſwer to their petition, they, by agreement, met at Stamford, and aſſembled a force conſiſting of above two thouſand knights, beſides their retainers, and an infinite number of inferior perſons. They then advanced in a body to Brackley, within fifteen miles of Oxford, where the court was then kept; and there receiving a meſſage from the king, by the primate and the earl of Pembroke, deſiring to know what were the liberties they ſo zealouſly demanded from their ſovereign. To theſe meſſages, they delivered a ſchedule containing the chief articles; which

being ſhewn to the king, he flew into a rage, and aſked why they did not alſo demand of him his kingdom, ſwearing, that he would never grant them ſuch liberties as muſt reduce him to ſlavery.

The confederated nobles were no ſooner informed of John's anſwer, than chuſing Robert Fitz-Walter their general, whom they called *the Mareſchal of the army of God and of Holy Church*, they, without farther ceremony, proceeded to lay ſiege to the caſtle of Northampton, which they carried on fifteen days without ſucceſs: they were willingly admitted into Bedford caſtle by William Beauchamp, its governor. Having advanced to Ware, they held a correſpondence with the principal citizens of London, and were ſoon after received into the capital without oppoſition. Being now fully ſenſible of the great ſuperiority of their force, they iſſued proclamations, requiring the other barons to join them, threatening, in caſe of refuſal or delay, to ravage their eſtates; upon which all the barons who had hitherto ſeemed to be of the royal party, gladly joined in a cauſe which they had ſecretly favoured; and the king was left at Odiham, in Surry, with only ſeven knights in his retinue.

John now tried ſeveral expedients to elude the blow; but after offering to refer all their differences to the pope, or to eight barons, four to be choſen by himſelf, and four by the confederates, he was at laſt obliged to ſubmit, and a conference between him and the barons was appointed at Runnemede, between Staines and

and Windſor. The king having collected a ſmall army, the two parties ſeparately encamped like open enemies; and after a debate which laſted a few days, the king, on the nineteenth of June 1215, ſigned the charter which the barons required. This famous deed, commonly called MAGNA CHARTA, or THE GREAT CHARTER, either granted or ſecured the moſt important privileges to every order of men in the realm.

To the clergy, the freedom of elections was ſecured by confirming the king's late charter: all check upon their appeals to Rome was removed, by every man being allowed to depart the kingdom at pleaſure; and the fines impoſed for any offence on the clergy, were ordained to be in proportion to their lay eſtates, and not to their eccleſiaſtical benefices.

The privileges here granted to the barons, chiefly conſiſted in moderating the rigour of the feudal law, and determinations of points which had been left by that law undetermined, or rendered by practice arbitrary and ambiguous. Among other particulars it was agreed, that ſcutages ſhall be eſtimated at the ſame rate as in the time of Henry I. and no ſcutage or aid, except in the general feudal caſes, the king's captivity, the knighting of his eldeſt ſon, and the marrying of his eldeſt daughter, ſhall be impoſed but by the great counſel of the kingdom. The king ſhall not ſieze any baron's land for a debt to the crown, if the baron poſſeſſes as many goods and chattles as are ſufficient to diſcharge the debt. No man

ſhall be obliged to perform more ſervice for his fee than he is bound to by his tenure. No governor or conſtable of a caſtle ſhall conſtrain any knight to give money for caſtle-guard, if he be willing to perform the ſervice in perſon, or by another able-bodied man; and if the knight himſelf be, by the king's command, in the field, he ſhall be exempted from all other ſervice of this nature; and no vaſſal ſhall be allowed to ſell ſo much of his land, as to incapacitate him from performing his ſervice to his lord.

Theſe and ſeveral other articles were ſolely calculated for the intereſt of the barons; but there were ſeveral others of a more extenſive and beneficent nature, which tended to the equitable adminiſtration of juſtice, and to the benefit of the whole community. The principal clauſes of this nature were thoſe which follow.

That all the abovementioned privileges and immunities granted by the king to the barons, ſhould be extended by the barons to the inferior vaſſals. One weight and one meaſure ſhall be eſtabliſhed throughout the kingdom. No towns or individuals ſhall be obliged to make or ſupport bridges, but by ancient cuſtom. Merchants ſhall not be expoſed to arbitrary tolls and impoſitions. They and all freemen ſhall be allowed to leave the kingdom and return to it at pleaſure. London, and all cities and boroughs, ſhall preſerve their ancient liberties, immunities, and free cuſtoms: aids ſhall not be required of them, but by the conſent

ſent of the great council. The goods of every freeman ſhall be diſpoſed of according to his will; and if he die inteſtate, his heir ſhall ſucceed to him. The king's courts of juſtice ſhall be ſtationary, and no longer follow his perſon: they ſhall be open to every one, and juſtice ſhall no longer be bought, refuſed, or delayed by them. Circuits ſhall be regularly held every year; and the inferior tribunals of juſtice, the county court, ſheriff's turn and court, but ſhall meet at their appointed time and place. The ſheriffs ſhall be incapacitated to hold pleas of the crown; and ſhall not put any perſon upon his trial from rumour or ſuſpicion alone, but upon the evidence of lawful witneſſes. No freeman ſhall be taken or impriſoned, or diſpoſſeſſed of his free tenement and liberties, or out-lawed or baniſhed, unleſs by the legal judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land; and all who ſuffered otherwiſe in this, or the two former reigns, ſhall be reſtored to their rights and poſſeſſions. Every freeman ſhall be fined in proportion to his fault; and no fine ſhall be levied on him to his utter ruin. Even a villain or ruſtic ſhall not, by any fine, be bereaved of his carts, ploughs, and inſtruments of huſbandry. Nor any officer of the crown take any horſes, carts, or wood, without the conſent of the owner.

They made him alſo ſign a *Charta de Foreſta*, or Charter of Foreſts, intended to prevent the extortion of foreſters; to allow freeholders to improve their lands and woods within the limits of the foreſts; to diſ-foreſt all

lands taken in ſince the coronation of Henry I. except the crown demeſnes; to regulate the foreſt courts; to exempt thoſe who lived without the foreſts from the trouble of attending thoſe courts, except when ſummoned for ſome tranſgreſſion; to annul all out-lawries for ſuch tranſgreſſions; and to convert the penalty for killing veniſon from a capital puniſhment to a fine, or in caſe of inſolvency, to a year's impriſonment.

Thus theſe charters contained the principal out-lines of a juſt and legal government, and provided for the equal diſtribution of juſtice, and the free enjoyment of property; the great objects for which political ſociety was at firſt founded.

The barons alſo obliged the king to conſent, that London ſhould remain in their hands, and the Tower in the cuſtody of Langton till the 15th of Auguſt enſuing, or till the articles of the great charter were fully executed. He likewiſe allowed them to chuſe twenty-five members from their own body, as conſervators of the liberties and privileges of the people; and as no bounds were ſet to their authority, they were in a manner inveſted with the ſovereignty of the kingdom. If any complaints were made of the violation of the charter, either by the king, his juſticiaries, ſheriffs or foreſters, any four of theſe barons might admoniſh the king to redreſs the grievance; and if this had no effect, they might aſſemble the twenty-five conſervators, who, in conjunction with the parliament, were empowered to compel

pel him to obſerve the charter, and in caſe of reſiſtance, might attack his caſtles, and employ every kind of violence, except againſt his royal perſon, and that of his queen and children. All the men in the kingdom were bound to ſwear obedience to the twenty-five barons; and the freeholders of each county were to chuſe twelve knights, who were to make a report of ſuch evil cuſtoms, as required redreſs.

John paid a paſſive ſubmiſſion to all theſe regulations, ſo neceſſary to confine him within the bounds of that juſtice and duty which he owed to his people: he ſent writs to all the ſheriffs, enjoining them to oblige every one to ſwear obedience to the twenty-five barons: he diſmiſſed all his foreign forces, the inſtruments of his tyranny; and pretended, that his government was from thenceforward to have an indulgent regard to the liberty and welfare of his people. Happy would it have been for him, had he not diſſembled! but he only waited for a favourable opportunity of overthrowing that glorious column of liberty, which his people had juſt erected. The injuries and indignities he had ſuffered from the king of France and the pope, as they came from equals or ſuperiors, had made but a ſmall impreſſion on his mind: but the ſenſe of his being obliged, by his own ſubjects, to confine himſelf within the bounds of juſtice and humanity ſhocked his pride, and he could not bear the thought of being a king, but wanted again to be a tyrant. He grew ſullen, ſilent and reſerved; ſhunned the company of his nobles

and

and courtiers, and as if desirous of hiding his shame, retired into the Isle of Wight. There he meditated vengeance against all those whom he unjustly esteemed his enemies, and secretly sent his emissaries abroad to invite the rapacious Brabanters into his service, by the prospect of sharing the spoils of England, and enjoying the forfeited estates of his opulent barons: he also dispatched a messenger to Rome, to lay before the pope the great charter which they had compelled him to sign, and to make his complaint to that tribunal, of the violence to which he had been obliged to submit.

Innocent, who now considered himself as feudal lord of the realm of England, was incensed at the audacity of the barons, who, notwithstanding their pretended appeal to his authority, had presumed, without his consent, to impose such terms on a prince, who, by resigning his independence to him, had placed himself under his immediate protection. He therefore issued a bull, in which, "from the "plenitude of apostolic power, and the au- "thority which God had committed to him to "build and destroy kingdoms, to plant and "overthrow," he abrogated the charter; prohibited the barons from exacting the observance of it, and even the king himself from regarding it: absolving him and his subjects from all the oaths they had been constrained to take; and denouncing a general sentence of excommunication against all who persevered in maintaining pretensions so treasonable and iniquitous.

As

As John's foreign forces came at the ſame time with this bull, he immediately ventured to throw off the maſk, and recalled all the privileges he had granted to his ſubjects, and which he had ſolemnly ſworn to preſerve. But the thunder of Rome had now leſs force than when it was directed againſt him. Langton refuſed to publiſh the ſentence of excommunication againſt the barons; and though he was cited to attend a general council at Rome, and was there ſuſpended for his diſobedience to the pope, and for his ſecretly correſponding with the king's enemies: though a new ſentence of excommunication was iſſued againſt the principal barons, in which their names were mentioned, yet the king ſtill found that his barons, his people, and even his clergy, ſtill continued their confederacy againſt him.

Unhappily the barons had no ſooner obtained the great charter, than lulled in a fatal ſecurity, they took no meaſures for re-aſſembling their armies, in caſe the king ſhould introduce a foreign force. Hence John was maſter of the field, and began with inveſting Rocheſter caſtle, which was bravely defended by William de Albiney, at the head of a hundred and forty knights, with their retainers; but was at laſt reduced by famine. The king was ſo enraged at this reſiſtance, that he reſolved to hang the governor and all the garriſon; but being informed, that reprizals would be made, by which he himſelf would ſuffer, he was ſatisfied with ſacrificing, in this inhuman manner, all the inferior priſoners. The captivity

vity of William de Albiney, who was the beſt officer among the barons, was ſuch a loſs, that from thenceforward no regular oppoſition was made to the progreſs of the royal arms. The barbarous mercenaries, incited by a cruel and enraged tyrant, ſpread devaſtation over the face of the kingdom; the conſternation and miſery of the inhabitants were inexpreſſible; and nothing was ſeen but the flames of villages and caſtles, ſucceſſively reduced to aſhes. Melford, Morpeth, Alnwick and Werk, were burnt, and Roxburg, Haddington and Dunbar, underwent the ſame fate. John himſelf, like a barbarous ruffian, ſetting fire, with his own hands, to every houſe in which he had lodged. The mercenary ſoldiers even put thoſe who fell into their hands to the torture, to make them diſcover their concealed treaſures. The barons and their partizans made repriſals on the royal demeſnes, and on the eſtates of ſuch as ſtill adhered to the crown. The king proceeding through the whole kingdom, from Dover to Berwick, conſidered every eſtate that was not his immediate property, as the object of military execution, and laid waſte the provinces on each ſide of him. The nobility of the north, who had diſcovered the greateſt violence in the recovery of their liberties, expecting no mercy, fled before him with their wives and families, and obtained the friendſhip of Alexander, the young king of Scotland, by doing him homage.

The barons thus reduced to extremity, inſtead of appointing places of rendezvous, and aſſem-

aſſembling in large bodies in places at a diſtance from theſe mercenary ravagers, and marching to oppoſe them, had recourſe to a moſt deſperate remedy: they applied to the court of France, offering to acknowledge Lewis, the eldeſt ſon of Philip, for their ſovereign, on condition of his aſſiſting them againſt their enraged prince. Philip was ſtrongly tempted to lay hold of the rich prize that was offered him; and in vain did the pope's legate threaten him with interdicts and excommunications, if he pretended to invade the patrimony of St. Peter, or attack a prince under the immediate protection of the holy ſee. He now undervalued all papal cenſures, as much as he formerly pretended to reſpect them; but he ſcrupled the fidelity of the Engliſh barons, and was afraid of intruſting his ſon and heir in the hands of men who, might make a peace with their native ſovereign by ſacrificing him. He therefore demanded twenty-five hoſtages of the moſt noble families in the kingdom; and on obtaining this ſecurity, ſent over a ſmall army to the relief of the confederates, and afterwards his ſon Lewis with a more numerous body of forces.

Immediately on the young prince's appearance in England, John's foreign troops deſerted; for being moſtly levied in the provinces of France, they refuſed to ſerve againſt the heir to that monarchy. The Poictevins and Gaſcons, who were ſtill John's ſubjects, adhered to him, but were too weak to maintain that ſuperiority in the field which they had hitherto

therto ſupported againſt the confederated Barons; and many conſiderable noblemen deſerting from John, his caſtles fell daily into the hands of the enemy. Dover alone, from the valour and fidelity of Hubert de Burgh, the governor, reſiſted the progreſs of Lewis's arms.

The barons had now the proſpect of ſucceeding in their deſigns, and of eſcaping the tyranny of John, by impoſing on themſelves and the nation a foreign yoke; a proſpect that muſt have damped the joy of being delivered from that tyrant. But this union between the French and Engliſh nobles was of ſhort duration; for the imprudence of Lewis in ſhewing, on every occaſion, too viſible a preference of thoſe of his own country, encreaſed that jealouſy, which was ſo natural to ariſe in the minds of the Engliſh in their preſent ſituation. It is ſaid, that at this time viſcount Melem, one of Lewis's courtiers, falling ſick at London, on the approach of death, ſent for ſome of the Engliſh barons who were his friends, and informed them, that Lewis ſecretly intended to exterminate them and their families, as traitors to their prince, and to beſtow their eſtates and dignities on his native ſubjects, in whoſe fidelity he could better confide. This ſtory, whether true or falſe, was univerſally reported and believed; and concurring with other circumſtances that rendered it credible, was of irreparable prejudice to Lewis's cauſe; and of others of the Engliſh noblemen deſerting to John's party, the French prince had reaſon to dread a ſudden reverſe of fortune.

John

John was now aſſembling a conſiderable army, in order to fight one deciſive battle for his crown; but marching from Lynne into Lincolnſhire, he was ſo imprudent as to enter the waſhes between Lincolnſhire and Norfolk, which are overflowed at high-water, juſt as the tide was beginning to riſe, it ruſhed upon him with ſuch rapidity, that he loſt the greateſt part of his forces, together with all his treaſure, regalia, baggage, and carriages; and he himſelf narrowly eſcaped with life. In the evening, he arrived at the abbey of Swineſhead, and being ill before, was there ſeized with a violent fever, occaſioned by his affliction and vexation at this irreparable loſs, and the diſtracted ſtate of his affairs. The next day, being unable to ride, he was carried in a litter, to the caſtle of Sleford, and from thence to Newark; where, after having made his will, and appointed Henry his eldeſt ſon, his heir, he died on the eighteenth of October 1216, in the fifty-firſt year of his age, and the eighteenth of his reign; and thus freed the nation from the dangers to which it was equally expoſed by his ſucceſs, or by his misfortunes.

John left behind him two legitimate ſons, Henry born on the firſt of October 1207, who was then nine years of age; and Richard, who was born on the 6th of January 1209; and three daughters, Jane, afterwards married to Alexander king of Scotland; Eleanor, firſt married to William Mareſchal the younger, earl of Pembroke, and afterwards to Simon Mountfort, earl of Leiceſter; and Iſabella,

married to the emperor Frederick II. Theſe children he had by Iſabella of Angoleſme his ſecond wife. He had a conſiderable number of illegitimate children, none of whom were very famous.

John was of a ſtature above the middle ſize, of a good ſhape and agreeable countenance. With reſpect to his character, he had a complication of vices, equally mean and odious, and the weakneſs of his head was only exceeded by the badneſs of his heart. His cowardice, inactivity, folly, ingratitude, treachery and cruelty too evidently appear in the ſeveral parts of his life, to give the leaſt room for ſuſpicion, that the diſagreeable picture has been at all overcharged by the prejudices of the ancient hiſtorians. It is difficult to determine whether his conduct to his father, his brother, his nephew, or his ſubjects, was moſt culpable. His dominions on the continent, when they devolved to him by his brother's death, were more extenſive, than thoſe of any other Engliſh monarch ſince his time, except in the ſhort period when the kingdom of France was in ſome degree of ſubjection to Henry VI. He ſubjected his kingdom to a ſhameful vaſſalage under the ſee of Rome; obliged his ſubjects to take up arms to recover thoſe privileges which had been handed down to them by their anceſtors; and was conſtrained to ſign, and ſwear to obſerve, a glorious charter founded on that granted to the people by Henry I. and at laſt, after breaking every oath and every bond of ſociety, he died

at

at a time when he was in danger of being expelled by a foreign power, and of ending his life in a priſon, or as a fugitive from the purſuit of his enemies.

It muſt however be owned, that his reign was not deſtitute of any laudable tranſactions. He conferred on the city of London, the right of annually electing a mayor out of its own body: an office which till then was held for life. He alſo gave the city power to elect and remove its ſheriffs at pleaſure, and its common council annually. He introduced the laws of England into Ireland, and granted the Cinque Ports their particular privileges. But theſe advantages were probably obtained ſolely by the wiſdom of his miniſters.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK III.

From the Death of King John, to the End of the Reign of Edward III.

CHAP. I.

HENRY III.

Surnamed of WINCHESTER.

The Settlement of the Government. Lincoln taken from the French, and Lewis with his Army leave the Kingdom. Some Commotions. The King's Weakneſs, and Incapacity for Government. The Poictevins baniſhed. The Diſcontent of the Barons. Grievances occaſioned by the Pope. Richard, the King's Brother, elected King of the Romans. The Struggles between the

HENRY III.

Grignion sc.

the King and the Barons. They obtain the Proviſions of Oxford. Civil Wars. The Powers aſſumed by the Barons. The Battles of Lewis and Everſham. Prince Edward goes on a Cruſade. The Death and Character of Henry. Miſcellaneous Obſervations.

ON the death of John the earl of Pembroke, who was mareſchal of England, and by his office head of the army, ſummoned the barons to meet him at Glouceſter, on which thoſe who adhered to John meeting him there, he preſented to them young Henry, ſaying, "Behold your king." He then obſerved, that whatever cauſe the late king had given for oppoſition to his will, the innocent ſon ought not to be charged with the faults of his father, and that it would be unjuſt to deprive him of the crown, in order to give it to a thankleſs foreigner, who would infallibly enſlave the kingdom, and who, by his arbitrary conduct, had forefeited all the benefits they had promiſed him. This was ſo well received, that they unanimouſly cried, Let Henry be king. He was therefore crowned in Glouceſter cathedral, on the twenty-eight of October 1216, by the biſhops of Bath and Wincheſter, in the preſence of Gualo the legate. But as the crown had been loſt in the waſhes between Lincolnſhire and Norfork, a ſimple fillet of gold was uſed for the ceremony; and on its being concluded, the perſon of the king was committed to the cuſtody of the earl of Pembroke, who acted as regent of the kingdom. As it was neceſſary

to ſupport the tottering throne by the aſſiſtance of the papal authority, Henry was obliged to ſwear fealty to the pope, and to renew the homage to which his father had already ſubjected the kingdom.

This office of regent could not have been conferred upon a nobleman of greater honour and capacity; and therefore, in order to enlarge his authority, and to give him a more regular and legal title, a general council of the barons was on the eleventh of November ſummoned at Briſtol, where that nobleman was choſen protector of the realm. In order to reconcile all men to the government of the new king, Pembroke made him grant a charter of new liberties, moſtly copied from that extorted from John. And that was again confirmed by the king in the following year, with the addition of ſome articles, to prevent oppreſſions by ſheriffs; and likewiſe with an additional charter of foreſts; a circumſtance of great importance in thoſe ages, when hunting was the favourite diverſion of the nobility; and when the king comprehended a very conſiderable part of the kingdom within his foreſts, which he governed by peculiar laws. All thoſe foreſts that had been incloſed ſince the reign of Henry II. were diſ foreſted, and new perambulations were appointed for that purpoſe.

Theſe famous charters were thus brought nearly to the form in which they have ever ſince ſtood, and for many generations have been eſteemed the moſt ſacred rampart of national liberty.

While

While Pembroke gave ſuch ſatisfaction and ſecurity to the nation in general, by renewing and confirming the great charter, and the charter of the foreſts, he wrote letters in the king's name, to the barons who had not yet joined him, repreſenting, that whatever animoſity they might have entertained againſt the late king, the lineal heir of their ancient monarchs had ſucceeded to the throne, without either ſucceeding to the principles or reſentments of his father: that the deſperate expedient of calling in a foreign prince, had happily, both for them and the nation, failed of ſucceſs; ſince by a ſpeedy return to their duty, they might reſtore the independance of the kingdom, and ſecure thoſe privileges for which they had ſo zealouſly contended: that as all paſt offences of the barons were buried in oblivion, they ought to forget their complaints againſt their late ſovereign, who had left his ſon a ſalutary warning, to avoid the paths that led to ſuch fatal extremities; and as they had now obtained a charter for their liberties, their intereſt required them to ſhew that the rights of the king and people, ſo far from being oppoſite, ought mutually to ſuſtain and ſupport each other.

Theſe obſervations, added to the earl of Pembroke's character, for probity and honour, had an extraordinary influence on the barons, many of whom openly joined him. This was promoted by the diffidence Lewis diſcovered of their fidelity; and on his refuſing the government of Hartford caſtle to Robert Fitz-Walter, who had exerted himſelf with great activity againſt

againſt the late king, and claimed it as his property, they were convinced that the Engliſh would be excluded from every truſt, and that Lewis's confidence and affection were wholly engroſſed by foreigners. In the turn which their diſpoſitions had now taken, the excommunication denounced by the legate againſt all Lewis's adherents, produced an extraordinary effect, and they were eaſily perſuaded to conſider that cauſe as prophane and impious, from which they had already conceived fatal apprehenſions.

Lewis returned to France, and brought back with him a body of French forces; but on his arrival, found that his party was greatly weakened by the deſertion of the Engliſh confederates; and that, contrary to his expectations, the death of John had given an incurable wound to his cauſe. The earls of Arundel, Saliſbury, and Warrenne had embraced Henry's party, and all the Engliſh barons were evidently watching for an opportunity of deſerting him.

Pembroke was ſo much ſtrengthened by theſe acceſſions, that he laid ſiege to Mountſorrel; but upon the approach of the count of Perche with the French army, he raiſed the ſiege. Elated with this ſucceſs, the count marched to Lincoln, and being admitted into the town, inveſted the caſtle. The protector ſummoning all his forces, marched to its relief, and appeared ſo much ſuperior to the French, that ſhutting themſelves up within the city, they acted upon the defenſive. The garriſon of the

the caſtle, on receiving thro' a poſtern a ſtrong reinforcement of choice troops, made a vigorous ſally upon the French, while the Engliſh army, aſſaulted them at the ſame inſtant from without, mounted the city walls by ſcalade, and bearing down all reſiſtance, entered the city ſword in hand. The count of Perche, after making ſurprizing efforts to rally his troops and ſuſtain the impetuoſity of the Engliſh, found himſelf at laſt entirely defeated; and diſdaining to ſurvive the diſgrace, ruſhed upon the ſwords of the enemy. The earls of Hereford, and Wincheſter, Robert Fitz-Walter, and Gilbert de Ghent, with four hundred knights, and a great number of 'ſquires and common ſoldiers, were taken priſoners; but no quarter was given to the French, who were all cut to pieces. The town which, from the beginning of the troubles, had eſpouſed the cauſe of the barons, was cruelly abandoned to pillage; and the ſoldiers gaining a great booty, diſtinguiſhed this pillage by the appellation of Lincoln-fair.

Lewis being informed of this fatal event, while he was engaged in the ſiege of Dover, he inſtantly retreated to London, which was the centre of his party, and was there informed of a freſh misfortune, which extinguiſhed all his hopes. The French fleet, in which was a ſtrong reinforcement of troops, had appeared on the coaſt of Kent, where they were attacked by the Engliſh, under the command of Philip d'Albiney, and moſt of the ſhips ſunk or taken. D'Albiney is ſaid to have made uſe of a ſtrata-

a ſtratagem, that contributed to the victory: for gaining the wind of the French, he came down upon them with violence, at the ſame time, throwing in the wind a great quantity of quick lime, which he had taken on board for that purpoſe, and which ſo blinded them, that they were unable to defend themſelves.

The Engliſh barons, after the French had ſuffered this ſecond misfortune, every where haſtened to conclude a peace with the protector; and Lewis, whoſe cauſe was become deſperate, beginning to be anxious for the ſafety of his perſon, was glad, on any honourable conditions, to eſcape from a country where he found every body ready to oppoſe him. He therefore, demanded an honourable peace of the protector, and promiſed to evacuate the kingdom; only ſtipulating for an indemnity to his adherents, and the reſtitution of their honours and fortunes, with an equal enjoyment of thoſe liberties that were granted to the reſt of the nation. The earl of Pembroke granted his requeſt without heſitation, and the peace being ſigned, Lewis received abſolution, and ſet ſail for France. Thus was happily concluded a civil war, which had threatened the kingdom with the moſt fatal conſequences; and peace was reſtored on the moſt equitable terms.

The French having thus retired, the protector, by his prudence and equity, contributed to cure thoſe wounds which had been made inteſtine diſcord. He freely received the barons into favour, and ſtrictly obſerving the terms of peace, reſtored them to their poſſeſſions, and

and by a juſt and equal behaviour, endeavoured to bury all paſt animoſities in perpetual oblivion. In this revolution, the clergy who had adhered to Lewis, were the only ſufferers. As they, by diſregarding the interdict and excommunication, had rebelled againſt their ſpiritual ſovereign, it was not in the power either of Lewis, or the protector, to make any ſtipulations in their favour; and Gualo the legate reſolved to puniſh them for their diſobedience. Many of them were depoſed, many ſuſpended, ſome baniſhed, and the reſt were obliged to attone for their offence, by paying large ſums to the legate, who, by this expedient, amaſſed an immenſe treaſure. This was the laſt exertion of legatine power by Gualo, who left the kingdom in 1218.

Soon after Gualo's departure, the nation ſuffered an irreparable loſs by the death of Pembroke, whoſe wiſdom, integrity and valour, had preſerved it from ſlavery. He was ſucceeded in the government by Hubert de Burgh, chief juſticiary. As the king's coronation at Wincheſter had been performed in a defective manner, and with little form and ceremony, it was now thought proper to repeat it, which was done by Langton, who having been freed from his ſuſpenſion, had returned to England.

Immediately after the coronation, Henry, with his new protector, made a progreſs thro' the different counties of the kingdom, in order to enquire into the conduct of the ſervants belonging to the crown; and to remove ſuch officers

ficers as were thought to be averſe to the preſent adminiſtration. None made any oppoſition except the earl of Albemarle, who, though he had early returned to his duty, and had been ſerviceable in expelling the French, committed great outrages in all the northern counties. In order to reduce him to obedience, Hubert ſeized an opportunity of obtaining the poſſeſſion of Rockingham caſtle, which had been garriſoned with his licentious retinue. Albemarle, inſtead of ſubmitting, engaged in a ſecret confederacy with Peter de Mauleon, Fawkes de Breauté, and other barons; and not only fortified the caſtle of Biham, but ſurprized that of Fotherington. Pandolf, who was reſtored to his legateſhip, endeavoured to ſuppreſs this rebellion, and in concurrence with eleven biſhops, denounced the ſentence of excommunication againſt Albemarle and his adherents. An army was levied; but his aſſociates gradually deſerting, he was at laſt obliged to ſue for mercy, on which he was not only pardoned, but reſtored to his whole eſtate.

This lenity encouraged Fawkes de Breauté, whom John had raiſed from a low origin, to continue that courſe of violence by which he had raiſed his fortune, and to deſpiſe all law and juſtice. Thirty-five verdicts were, at one time, found againſt him, for his violently expelling ſo many freeholders from their poſſeſſions; when, inſtead of ſubmitting, he entered the court of juſtice with an armed force, ſeized the judge who had pronounced the verdict, and impriſoned him in Bedford caſtle.

He

He then levied open war againſt the king; but being ſubdued and taken priſoner, his eſtate was confiſcated, and he was baniſhed the kingdom.

In the year 1222, a new confirmation of the great charter was demanded, and granted two years after. In return for which indulgence, the parliament gave an aid amounting to a fifteenth of all moveables. The king now iſſued new writs to the ſheriffs, enjoining the obſervance of the charter; but inſerted a remarkable clauſe in theſe writs, that thoſe who did not pay the fifteenth, ſhould not enjoy the benefit of thoſe privileges for the future.

Hubert conſidering the low ſtate into which the crown was fallen, now applied to the pope, deſiring him to iſſue a bull, declaring the king to be of full age, and intitled to be exerciſed of all acts of royalty; and in conſequence of this, reſigned into Henry's hands the tower of London and Dover caſtle, which had been entruſted to his cuſtody; and then required the other barons to imitate his example. They, however, refuſed compliance; and the earls of Cheſter and Albemarle, William de Cantel, John de Lacy, with ſome others, even reſolved to ſurprize London; but having marched to Waltham, and finding the king prepared for his defence, they deſiſted from their enterprize. They were, however, ſummoned to court to anſwer for their conduct, where they not only appeared, but boldly acknowledged their deſign, telling the king, that they had no ill intentions againſt his perſon, but were determined

mined to remove Hubert de Burg from his office. Theſe barons appeared to be too formidable to be puniſhed; and were ſo far from being diſcouraged at the failure of their firſt enterprize, that they again met at Leiceſter, in order to march to Northampton and ſeize the king who reſided there: but Henry being informed of their intention, was ſo well armed and attended, that the barons found it dangerous to make the attempt. The archbiſhop and prelates now finding that every thing tended towards a civil war, threatened all the barons, who perſiſted in detaining the king's caſtles, with the ſentence of excommunication; and this menace had ſuch an effect, that moſt of the fortreſſes were ſurrendered; though the barons complained, that Hubert's caſtles were ſoon after reſtored to him, while the king ſtill kept theirs in his own cuſtody. There are ſaid to have been at that time 1115 caſtles in England.

Notwithſtanding the precarious authority of the crown amidſt ſuch inteſtine commotions, Henry was obliged to enter into a war with France; and to that purpoſe, applied the fifteenth which had been granted him by parliament. Henry had demanded the reſtitution of Normandy, and the other provinces wreſted from England; on which Lewis VIII. who had ſucceeded his father Philip, making an eruption into Poictou, took Rochelle after a long ſiege, and ſeemed reſolved to expel the Engliſh from the few provinces they ſtill poſſeſſed. Henry ſent againſt him his uncle, the earl

earl of Saliſbury, with his brother, prince Richard, to whom he had granted the earldom of Cornwall, which had eſcheated to the crown. Saliſbury put a ſtop to the progreſs of the arms of Lewis, and confirmed the Poictevin and Gaſcon vaſſals in their allegiance: but no extraordinary military action was performed on either ſide.

Richard, who returned to England, after ſtaying two years in Guienne, was far from being of a turbulent diſpoſition: his ruling paſſion was avarice, by which he became the richeſt ſubject in Chriſtendom: hence his attention to heap up money, ſometimes involved him in acts of violence, that gave diſturbance to the government. A manor that had formerly belonged to the earldom of Cornwall, but before Richard was inveſted with that dignity, had been granted to Waleran de Ties. Richard claimed this manor, and expelled the proprietor by force: Waleran complained; and Henry ordered his brother to reſtore it to him. This the earl refuſed, till the cauſe ſhould be decided againſt him by the judgment of his peers. Henry repeated his orders, obſerving, that it was neceſſary to reinſtate Waleran before the cauſe could be tried. This affair, trifling as it was, had like to have produced a civil war. Richard finding the king peremptory in his commands, joined with the young earl of Pembroke, who had married his ſiſter, and was diſpleaſed at his having been obliged to deliver up ſome royal caſtles that were in his cuſtody. Theſe engaged in their con-

federacy the earls of Gloceſter, Cheſter, Hereford, Warwick, Ferrers, and Warrenne, all of whom were diſguſted on the ſame account; and aſſembling an army, which Henry had neither the power nor the courage to reſiſt, he was obliged to give his brother ſatisfaction, by confering on him grants of much greater value than the manor that had occaſioned the quarrel.

As the king grew up to man's eſtate, he was found entirely incapable of ſupporting a proper authority over the turbulent barons who retained the feudal conſtitution. Weakly fond, fluctuating and irreſolute, he received every impreſſion from thoſe around him, whom he loved with a childiſh ductility: without courage or activity, he was entirely unfit to engage in war; and as he had neither principle nor policy, he was ill-fitted to govern his people during peace. Though his reſentments were haſty and violent, they were ſo changeable, and ſo eaſily dropped, that they were not dreaded; and his friendſhips being inconſtant, were little valued.

His ableſt miniſter, after the death of Pembroke, was Hubert de Burgh, who had been ſteadily faithful to the crown in the moſt difficult and dangerous emergencies. While this miniſter enjoyed his authority, he had ſuch an aſcendancy over the king, that he was loaded with honours and favours: he was preſented with many caſtles and manors: he married the king of Scot's eldeſt ſiſter; was created earl of Kent, and made chief juſticiary for life: yet, in a ſudden caprice, Henry diſcarded this faithful miniſter,

miniſter, and expoſed him to the perſecution of his enemies. Among the frivolous crimes laid to his charge, was that of gaining the king's affection, by enchantment; and ſtealing a gem from the royal treaſury, that had the power of rendering the wearer invulnerable; and the ſending this ineſtimable jewel to one of the Welch princes. As Hubert was hated by the barons, on account of the zeal he had ſhewn in the reſumption of the rights and poſſeſſions of the crown, they no ſooner found a favourable opportunity, than they enflamed the king's reſentment, and made him reſolve to ruin him. Hubert, in his diſtreſs, took ſanctuary in a church: the king gave orders for his being dragged from thence: he recalled thoſe orders: he afterwards renewed them: the clergy obliged the king to let him return to his ſanctuary: he ſoon after forced him to ſurrender himſelf priſoner: he confined him in the caſtle of the Devizes: Hubert made his eſcape, was baniſhed, was again received into favour, and recovered a ſhare in the king's confidence, but never ſhewed the leaſt inclination to be again inveſted with authority and power.

Peter de Roches, biſhop of Wincheſter, ſucceeded him in the government of the king and kingdom. He was a native of Poictou, who had been raiſed by John, and was as much diſtinguiſhed by his arbitrary principles and tyrannical conduct, as by his courage and abilities. The late king had left this prelate juſticiary and regent of the kingdom, while he made an expedition into France; and his ille-

gal conduct during his adminiſtration, was one principal cauſe of the barons uniting in that grand combination for the recovery of their liberties, by the great charter. Though Henry was incapable of purſuing the ſame violent meaſures as his father, he had imbibed the ſame arbitrary principles; and by this miniſter's advice, ſent for a great number of Poictevins and other foreign ſoldiers, who, he fancied, might be more ſafely truſted than the Engliſh, and might be of uſe in counterbalancing the power of the barons. On theſe ſtrangers was beſtowed every office and command; they were ſuffered to exhauſt the revenues of the crown, and to invade the rights of the people; and hence their influence and power drew on them the hatred and envy of the nation.

In 1233 the barons formed a confederacy, and withdrew from parliament, under the pretence of the danger to which they were expoſed from the deſigns of the Poictevins. On their being again ſummoned to attend, they anſwered, that the king ſhould diſmiſs his foreigners, and had the audacity to add, that if he did not, they would drive both him and them out of the kingdom, and place the crown on a head more worthy to wear it. However, they at laſt came to parliament, but with ſuch a retinue, that they ſeemed able to preſcribe laws to the king and his miniſtry. The biſhop of Wincheſter, however, found means to bring over to his party, the earls of Cornwall, Cheſter, and Lincoln. This diſconcerted the meaſures

ſures of the confederates. Richard, earl Marſhal, was driven into Wales, from whence he withdrew into Ireland; where, by the contrivance of the biſhop of Wincheſter, he was treacherouſly murdered. The eſtates of thoſe barons who were moſt obnoxious, were confiſcated without their being tried by their peers; and, with a profuſe liberality, were beſtowed on the Poictevins. That prelate is even ſaid to have carried his inſolence ſo far, as publickly to declare, that the Engliſh barons muſt not pretend to put themſelves on the ſame foot with thoſe of France.

The violent proceedings of this miniſter, could not be of long duration: but his fall at laſt proceeded from the influence of the church, and not from the ſtruggles of the barons. Edmond, the primate, coming to court with many other prelates, made a warm repreſentation to the king, of the pernicious meaſures purſued by Peter de Roches, which had filled the people with diſcontent, and ruined his affairs. They then inſiſted on his diſmiſſing that miniſter and his friends; and threatened him, on his refuſal, with excommunication. Henry, being terrified at the thought of this ſentence, ſubmitted; the foreigners were ſent out of the kingdom, the natives reſtored to their ſeats in the council; and the primate, who was diſtinguiſhed by his wiſdom and probity, bore the chief ſway in the government, and took care that the laws and the charter of liberties were obſerved.

In

In vain did the Engliſh flatter themſelves with being long free from the dominion of foreigners. On the fourteenth of January 1236, the king married Eleanor, the daughter of the count of Provence, who brought with her a great number of her countrymen, whom he careſſed and enriched by his imprudent generoſity. The biſhop of Valence, the queen's uncle, became his chief miniſter, and employed every art to enrich himſelf and his relations. Boniface of Savoy was promoted to the ſee of Canterbury: many young ladies were invited to come from Provence, and were married to the principal noblemen in England, who were the king's wards.

The ſource of Henry's bounty now beginning to fail, his Savoyard miniſtry applied to the pope, who granted the king a bull for allowing him to reſume all his paſt grants, and to abſolve him from the oath he had taken to maintain them; and enjoining him to make the reſumption, on account of their being prejudicial to the Roman pontiff, in whom the ſuperiority of the kingdom was veſted. However, the oppoſition that was made to this intended reſumption, prevented its taking place. But the nation had the mortification to ſee to what indignities Henry was willing to ſubmit, in order to gratify the avarice of his foreign favourites. About the ſame time Henry publiſhed in England a ſentence of excommunication, denounced againſt his brother-in-law, the emperor Frederick; and in excuſe, ſaid, that as he was the pope's vaſſal, he was obliged, by his

his allegiance, to obey all his holineſs's commands. Thus when any neighbouring prince inſulted his dominions, inſtead of revenging the injury, he complained to the pope, as his ſuperior lord, and begged him to protect his vaſſal.

The Engliſh barons, who deſpiſed him for the meanneſs with which he cringed to the pope, ſaw, with indignation and reſentment, the preference given to foreigners; but their remonſtrances and complaints, could not prevail on Henry to abandon them. After the Savoyards and Provençals, might have been ſuppoſed to be ſatiated with the dignities and wealth they had acquired, the king invited over a new ſet of hungry foreigners, among whom he ſhared the favours he ought to have beſtowed on the Engliſh barons, who alone were able to ſupport and defend his throne. Iſabella, his mother, whom John had unjuſtly taken from the count de la Marche, had, immediately after the death of her huſband, married that nobleman, and had bore him four ſons, Guy, William, Geoffry, and Aymer, whom ſhe ſent into England to pay a viſit to the king, their brother. Henry was filled with ſuch fondneſs at the ſight of them, that he paid not the leaſt regard either to his own circumſtances or the diſpoſition of his people, in the honours and wealth he laviſhed upon them. Hence the complaints roſe as high againſt the credit of the Gaſçon, as they had done againſt that of the Poictevin and Savoyard favourites; and as the nation was prejudiced againſt

againſt them, all the meaſures they took appeared exceptionable and criminal. Relying on the boundleſs affection of a weak prince, they were more attentive to their preſent intereſt than to the liberties of the people. When the laws were at any time appealed to, in oppoſition to the oppreſſions of theſe and other foreigners, they made no ſcruple of replying, "What are the Engliſh laws to us. We don't "mind *them*." This greatly tended to aggravate the general diſcontent, and rendered every act of violence committed by foreigners, not only an injury, but an affront.

Henry's partiality and profuſe bounty to his foreign relations and their friends, would have created leſs averſion in the Engliſh, had he done any thing to promote the honour of the nation, or had his enterprizes in foreign countries been attended with any ſucceſs or glory, either to himſelf or the public: at leaſt, had he been diſtinguiſhed by his military talents, they would have ſerved to have given ſome weight and authority to his government.

Though he ventured, in 1242, to declare war againſt Lewis IX. and upon the invitation of his father-in-law, the count de la Marche, made an expedition into Guienne; all his attempts againſt that prince were unſucceſsful, he marched to Tailleburg, of which Lewis had taken poſſeſſion; but finding the French army much ſuperior to his, he retreated with precipitation; Lewis purſuing him, fell upon his rear, and a battle enſued, in which the Engliſh, after having ſuſtained conſiderable loſs, gave

gave way. They were then purſued to Saintes, where the count de la Marche making a ſally to cover their retreat, the earls of Norfolk, Cornwal, Saliſbury and Leiceſter, rallied their forces, and another battle enſued, which was fought on both ſides with equal bravery and ſucceſs. But Henry's army being greatly diminiſhed, he quitted Saintes, and made a haſty march to Pons, where, leaving a good garriſon, he proceeded to Barbeſceux, and from thence to Bourdeaux. In the mean time he was deſerted by his ally, the count de la Marche, who joined the French king. That prince, after having conquered all that Henry poſſeſſed in Poictou, for which the king ſhamefully agreed to pay 5000l. a year to Lewis, and after having ſpent the winter in feaſting among the nobility, returned in diſgrace to England, having firſt ordered all his barons to aſſemble at Portſmouth to receive him, and given directions for his magnificent entry into London, as if he had returned from conqueſt.

Henry had ſquandered away immenſe ſums at Bourdeaux; and ſome time after, his want of œconomy and abſurd liberality involved him ſo deeply in debt, that his creditors becoming troubleſome, he ſold all his plate and jewels to ſatisfy them. On this expedient being propoſed to him, he aſked where he ſhould find purchaſers. It was anſwered, "Among "the citizens of London." "Upon my "word, he replied, if the treaſury of Au"guſtus were brought to ſale, the citizens "are able to purchaſe it. Thoſe clowns, who

"aſſume

"assume the state of barons, abound in every "thing, while we are reduced to necessities." From thenceforward he was observed to be more greedy in his exactions on the citizens.

Great as the rapacity of this king was in continually draining the purses of his subjects, it was exceeded by that of the court of Rome, which was actuated by the most insatiable avarice. The ministers of that court finding that their predecessors had amassed an amazing stock of power, were desirous of reaping an immediate advantage from it. Simony was every where practised, and the Romish tribunals were openly venal; neither favours nor justice could be obtained without a bribe, and the highest bidder was sure to gain his suit. The pope likewise openly assumed the absolute authority of setting aside all rules, all privileges of patrons, churches and convents. In 1226, under the pretence of remedying these abuses, he alledged, that they were owing to the poverty of his see, and demanded from every cathedral the revenue of two of the best prebends, and from every convent, two of the monks portions to be set apart as a settled revenue of the papal crown: but his demand was unanimously rejected.

A few years after, the pope demanded and obtained the tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues. In 1240 Otho, the legate, obtained such large sums by his intrigues and menaces from the prelates and convents, that on his departure, it was said, he carried more money out of the kingdom, than he left in it. The same was done

done four years after by Martin, the pope's nuncio, who was inveſted with power to excommunicate every clergyman who refuſed to comply with his demands: and all theſe exactions were conſtantly ſupported by the king.

In the mean time great numbers of the Italians were ſent over to be provided for, and the richeſt benefices in the kingdom were given to them. Pluralities and non-reſidence were carried to ſuch an amazing height, that Manſel, the king's chaplain, is ſaid to have held at one time ſeven hundred church livings. The clergy and people, exaſperated againſt theſe abuſes, roſe againſt the Italian prieſts, plundered their barns, ravaged their lands, and inſulted thoſe they met. When the juſticiaries endeavoured to diſcover the author of theſe diſorders, ſo many, even of thoſe of high rank, were found to be concerned, that a ſtop was put to the enquiry.

At laſt, in 1245, Innocent IV. calling a general council at Lyons, in order to their joining in the excommunication of the emperor Frederick, Henry and his barons ſent over agents to complain to the council of the avarice of the court of Rome, who, among many other grievances, repreſented, that the benefices of the Italian clergy in England, were found to amount to 60,000 marks a year, a ſum which they maintained exceeded even the royal revenue of the crown. They, however, obtained from the pope only an evaſive anſwer. The feudal ſubjection of England to the ſee of Rome being mentioned before the council, the

Engliſh agents exclaimed againſt that pretenſion, inſiſting, that king John had no right, without the conſent of his people, to render the kingdom ſubject to ſo ignominious a ſlavery. But notwithſtanding this, Innocent continued to exact the revenues of all vacant benefices, the twentieth of all eccleſiaſtical revenues whatſoever, and the third of ſuch as were above a hundred marks a-year. He claimed the goods of all clergymen who died inteſtate, and pretended a title to inherit all money obtained by uſury.

In 1255, the pope engaged Henry in an enterprize, which was attended with diſhonour; and during ſeveral years, involved him in great expence and trouble. The Romiſh church had reduced the kingdom of Naples to the ſame ſtate of feudal vaſſalage, which ſhe at this time exerted over England. On the death of the emperor Frederic II. the ſucceſſion of that kingdom devolved to Conradine, that monarch's grandſon; when Mainfrey, his natural ſon, formed a ſcheme for eſtabliſhing his own authority, under the pretence of governing the kingdom during the infancy of that prince. Pope Innocent, who had endeavoured to diſpoſſeſs the emperor Fredrick of his Italian dominions, continued his hoſtilities againſt his grandſon; but finding that Mainfrey, by his vigilance and activity, diſappointed all his ſchemes, he pretended to diſpoſe of the crown of Sicily, both as ſuperior lord of that particular kingdom, and as the vicar of Chriſt, to whom were ſubject all the kingdoms of the earth. He therefore offered

fered it to Richard earl of Cornwal, whoſe immenſe wealth, he ſuppoſed, would enable him to make head againſt Mainfrey; and Richard, having the prudence to refuſe this preſent, he applied to the king, and offered him the crown of Sicily, for Edmond his ſecond ſon. Henry, captivated by the propoſal, without either conſulting his brother, or the parliament, gave the pope unlimitted credit to expend on his account whatever ſums were neceſſary to complete the conqueſt of Sicily, Innocent, prompted by his own intereſt, to carry on the war with Mainfrey, was glad of doing it at his ally's expence: the ſame policy was carried on by Alexander IV. who ſucceeded him in the papal throne; and to Henry's great ſurprize, he ſuddenly found himſelf involved in an immenſe debt, which had been contracted without conſulting him. It already amounted to 135,541 marks, beſides intereſt; and if he anſwered this demand, he had the proſpect of being loaded with ſtill more exorbitant expences; or if he refuſed it, of not only incurring the pope's diſpleaſure, but of loſing the crown of Sicily, which he flattered himſelf with ſoon fixing on his ſon's head.

He therefore applied to parliament; and to prevent his meeting with oppoſition, avoided ſending writs to the refractory barons: but thoſe who aſſembled, being ſenſible of the ridiculous impoſition, reſolved not to laviſh their money on ſuch chimerical ſchemes. The clergy were now his only reſource; and as both their ſpiritual and temporal ſovereign

concurred in oppreſſing them, they were unable to defend themſelves.

A cruſade was publiſhed for the conqueſt of Sicily; and all who had taken the croſs againſt the Saracens, or had vowed to advance money for that enterprize, were required to ſupport the war againſt Mainfrey, who, it was pretended, was a more terrible enemy to the Chriſtians than the infidels. A tenth on all eccleſiaſtical benefices was levied for three years, and orders given to excommunicate all the biſhops who did not punctually pay it. The pope alſo granted Henry the goods of inteſtate clergymen: the revenues of all non-reſidents, and of vacant benefices.

Mean while, by the advice of the biſhop of Hereford, who reſided at the court of Rome, bills of different value were drawn on all the biſhops and abbots of the kingdom, amounting, in the whole, to 150,540 marks, and granted to Italian merchants, who it was pretended had advanced money, for the ſervice of the war againſt Mainfrey. As it was not likely that the Engliſh prelates would ſubmit to ſuch an extraordinary demand, without compulſion, Ruſtand, the legate, was ordered to employ authority for that purpoſe; and having convoked an aſſembly of the biſhops and abbots, informed them of the pleaſure of the pope and the king. The aſſembly were filled with ſurprize and indignation: the biſhop of London obſerved, that the pope and king were more powerful than he; but if he loſt his mitre from his head, he would replace it with a helmet;

met; and the biſhop of Worceſter exclaimed, that he would loſe his life rather than comply. On the other hand, the legate plainly told the aſſembly, that all eccleſiaſtical benefices, were the pope's property, and he might diſpoſe of them either in whole or in part, as he thought fit. At laſt, the biſhops and abbots being threatened with excommunication, were obliged to ſubmit: the only mitigation that was allowed them, being that the tenths already granted, ſhould be accepted in part, of the payment of the bills.

The conqueſt of Sicily was ſtill, however, as remote as ever. The demands which arrived from Rome, were without end; and Alexander became ſo importunate a creditor, that he ſent a legate into England, to threaten the kingdom with an interdict, and Henry himſelf with excommunication, if he did not inſtantly remit the arrears which he pretended to be due. At length, Henry, becoming ſenſible of the cheat, reſolved to break the agreement; and reſigned into the pope's hands that crown, which Alexander never intended that either he or his family ſhould ever poſſeſs.

Richard, earl of Cornwal, the king's brother, had now reaſon to be glad that he had refuſed the fraudulent bargain with Rome, and had preferred the ſolid honours of an opulent prince of the blood in England, to the empty and precarious glory of a foreign crown: but at length, his vanity and ambition prevailed over his prudence; and he engaged in an enterprize that was equally expenſive, and attend-

ed with little more probability of ſucceſs. His immenſe wealth, having induced the German princes, to think of him as a candidate for the empire, he expended immenſe ſums on this election, and was choſen king of the Romans, which ſeemed infallibly to ſecure his ſucceſſion to the imperial throne. At his going into Germany, he took with him, according to the monkiſh writers of thoſe times, no leſs a ſum than 700,000 marks *. But this is highly improbable, and muſt be greatly exaggerated, ſince even the king's revenue did not amount to ſixty thouſand marks a year †; his brother, therefore, could never be maſter of ſuch an immenſe ſum, eſpecially as he did not ſell his eſtates in England. However, his money, while it laſted, procured him friends and partizans; but he at laſt found that he had laviſhed away all that he had hoarded by his frugality, in order to procure a more ſplendid title.

The ſucceſsful effort the barons had made under king John, in the recovery of their ancient liberties, by the Magna Charta, had made them feel their own weight and importance, and rendered it proper that the king ſhould behave with great prudence and juſtice, to prevent his giving them cauſe for complaints; but Henry wanted the wiſdom to chuſe right meaſures, and neglected all the ſalutary articles of the Great Charter; and this frequent-

* Or, 1,400,000 l. of our preſent coin.
† 120,000 l.

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ly expoſed him to affronts and dangerous attempts upon his lawful prerogatives, and at different times, plans of limitations were formed, and aſſociations entered into, to reduce his power; but theſe were generally ended by a renewal of the Charter, and a general permiſſion to excommunicate all who violated it.

In order to form a more perfect judgment of the ſtruggles between Henry and the barons, if will be proper to go ſome years back. In 1248, when Henry, in a full parliament, demanded a new ſupply, he was openly reproached with the breach of his word, and his violation of the Charter. He was then juſtly aſked, whether he did not bluſh to deſire aid from his people, whom he profeſſedly hated, to whom on all occaſions he preferred aliens and foreigners, and who groaned under the oppreſſions which he exerciſed, or permitted others to exerciſe over them. He was told, that beſides diſparaging his young nobility, by obliging them to marry ſtrangers of mean birth; that no rank of men was ſo low as to eſcape being plundered by him and his miniſters; that even the proviſions conſumed by his houſhold, the cloathes which he himſelf and his ſervants wore, and the wine they drank, were taken by violence from the lawful owners, without any compenſation being ever made for the injury: that to the great prejudice and infamy of the kingdom, foreign merchants ſhunned the Engliſh harbours, and by theſe acts of violence, a commerce with all nations was cut off: that injury was added to injury, and loſs

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to loſs: that the very merchants who had been deſpoiled of their goods, were alſo obliged to carry them, at their own expence, wherever the king was pleaſed to appoint: that even the poor fiſhermen of the coaſts, could not eſcape his oppreſſions, and thoſe of his courtiers; and not having full liberty to diſpoſe of their fiſh in the Engliſh markets, were frequently forced to hazard all the perils of the ocean, in carrying them to foreign ports, rather than undergo the danger which awaited them from his oppreſſive emiſſaries; and that even the wax-tapers and ſplendid ſilks employed in ſo many uſeleſs religious proceſſions, were the ſpoils which he had forcibly raviſhed from the true owners.

In anſwer to their remonſtrances, the king gave the parliament only good words and fair promiſes, which, as they had often found deceitful, he, at that time, obtained no ſupply. Therefore in 1253, finding himſelf again under the neceſſity of applying to parliament, he made uſe of a new pretence, which he eſteemed infallible; and making a vow to engage in a cruſade, required their aſſiſtance in that enterprize. However, the parliament heſitated, and the clergy ſent four prelates; the primate, the biſhops of Wincheſter, Saliſbury, and Carliſle, to remonſtrate on his repeated violations of their privileges; the oppreſſions with which he had loaded them and all his other ſubjects; and the uncanonical and forced elections for vacant dignities. "True, replied the king, "I have been ſomewhat faulty in this particu-
"lar:

" lar: I obtruded you my lord of Canterbury,
" upon your ſee. My lord of Weſtminſter, I was
" obliged to uſe both entreaties and menaces,
" to get you elected. I confeſs, my lords of
" Saliſbury and Carliſle, that my proceedings
" were very irregular, when I raiſed you from
" the loweſt ſtations to your preſent dignities.
" I am reſolved to correct thoſe abuſes for the
" future; and it will alſo become you my lords,
" in order to make a thorough reformation, to
" reſign your preſent benefices, and to try to
" enter again in a more regular and canonical
" manner."

The biſhops, ſurprized at theſe unexpected ſarcaſms, which he had been probably taught to utter before they came, replied, that the queſtion now was, not how to correct paſt errors, but how to avoid them for the future. Henry promiſed to redreſs both the eccleſiaſtical and civil grievances; and in return, the parliament granted him a tenth of the eccleſiaſtical benefices, and a ſcutage of three marks on each knight's fee. But having experienced his frequent breach of promiſe, they required him to ratify the Great Charter, in a ſtill more authentic manner than any which he had hitherto employed. Accordingly all the lords, ſpiritual and temporal, aſſembled in Weſtminſter-hall, each holding a lighted taper in his hand, the king himſelf ſtanding with his hand upon his heart, in token of his ſincerity. The archbiſhop of Canterbury, then pronounced aloud, a moſt dreadful anathema, with the ſentence of excommunication againſt all who

ſhould,

ſhould, directly or indirectly, oppoſe or violate the two charters. This being denounced, the two charters were read with an audible voice; and being confirmed by his majeſty, each prelate and nobleman threw his taper on the ground, and exclaimed, "May the ſoul "of every one who infringes theſe Charters, "ſo burn and ſmoke in hell!" The king, who bore a part in the whole ceremony, ſubjoined, "So help me God. All theſe articles I will "keep inviolate, as I am a man, as I am a "Chriſtian, as I am a knight, as I am a king "crowned and anointed." Yet, no ſooner was this tremendous ceremony finiſhed, than his favourites abuſing his weakneſs, made him return to the ſame illegal and arbitrary adminiſtration. Thus were the expectations of his people perpetually eluded and diſappointed.

At length Henry's illegal and imprudent meaſures, induced Simon de Mountfort, earl of Leiceſter, to attempt a reformation in the government, by abridging the king's power. He was a younger ſon of Simon de Mountfort, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his bravery in a cruſade againſt the Albigenſes, and who, though he tarniſhed his glory by his cruelty, was admired by the bigots of that age, particularly the clergy. A great eſtate in England, coming by ſucceſſion to his family, his elder ſon, who enjoyed ſtill greater poſſeſſions in France, not being allowed to perform fealty to two maſters, transferred his right to Simon his younger brother, who coming over to England, he did homage to Henry for his lands, and

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was raiſed to the dignity of earl of Leiceſter. He afterwards married Eleanor, the widow of William earl of Pembroke, who was the king's ſiſter. The marriage of this princeſs with a foreigner, though it was with Henry's conſent, was loudly complained of by the Engliſh barons; but Leiceſter ſupported himſelf at firſt by the king's favour and authority, and ſoon after by his conduct, gained the affections of the people of all ranks. At laſt, from Henry's levity and fickleneſs, he loſt his friendſhip, was baniſhed the court; was recalled, and entruſted with the command of Guienne, where he did good ſervice; but was again baniſhed, and again recalled. Henry called him traitor, to his face. Leiceſter, is ſaid to have had the audacity to give him the lye, and to tell him, that were he not his ſovereign, he would make him repent it. Yet, from the flexibility of the king, the quarrel was made up, and he was again admitted into ſome degree of authority and favour.

Leiceſter being unable to comply with all Henry's humours, and to follow the baſe and illegal dictates of his minions, made uſe of his intereſt with the public, to open the eyes of the people. He every where complained of the numerous violations of the Great Charter; the acts of violence continually committed; the combination between the pope and the king, and Henry's neglect of his native ſubjects. Though he himſelf was a foreigner, he complained more loudly than the natives themſelves, of the indignity of ſubmitting to foreigners;

reigners; and, by his appearance of devotion, he obtained the favour of the zealots and clergy.

This nobleman quarrelling with William de Valence, Henry's half-brother and chief favourite, resolved in 1258, to put his designs in execution; and therefore secretly assembled a meeting of the most considerable barons, to whom he represented the necessity of reforming the state, and of putting the execution of the laws into other hands. He mentioned the violation of the privileges of the barons; the continual depredations made on the clergy; and the oppressions exercised against the lower orders of the state; after which he appealed to the Great Charter, which had so often been ratified by Henry, and was calculated to prevent the return of those intolerable grievances. He expatiated on their brave ancestors, who had extorted from John, by that famous concession, the renewal of their ancient privileges; and lamented that degeneracy, which permitted so great an advantage to be wrested from them, by a weak prince and insolent strangers; and concluded with insisting, that after so many submissions and fruitless promises made by the king, they ought no longer to rely on his word; and that nothing could insure the regular observance of their national privileges, but his absolute inability to violate them.

These observations, which perfectly agreed with the sentiments of the company, had the desired effect; and they resolved to redress the public

public grievances, by taking the adminiſtration of government into their own hands.

Henry having ſummoned a parliament, in expectation of receiving ſupplies, the barons appeared in the hall, in complete armour, with their ſwords by their ſides. The king on his entrance, was ſurprized at this unuſual appearance, and aſked, whether they pretended to make him their priſoner? Roger Bigot *, earl of Norfolk, anſwered in the name of the reſt, that he was not their priſoner, but their ſovereign; and that they would even grant him large ſupplies, in order to fix his ſon on the throne of Sicily; that they only expected in return, that as he had frequently acknowledged his paſt errors, and had ſtill allowed himſelf to relapſe into them, he muſt now ſubmit to ſtricter regulations, and confer authority on men, more able and willing to redreſs the grievances of the nation.

The king, allured by the hopes of ſupplies, and ſomewhat intimidated by the martial appearance of the barons, immediately conſented to their demands; and agreed to ſummon another parliament at Oxford, in order to digeſt the new plan of government, and to elect the perſons by whom it was to be conducted.

This parliament met at Oxford on the eleventh of June 1258; and all the barons appearing in arms with their military vaſſals, Henry, who had taken no precautions againſt them, was in reality a priſoner in their hands,

* He is alſo called by ſome of the ancient, as well as modern authors, Roger Rigod.

and was obliged to agree to all their propoſals. Twelve barons were choſen by the king, and twelve others by the barons, who made the earl of Leiceſter preſident. An unlimited authority was granted to theſe twenty-four to reform the ſtate; and the king ſwore to maintain whatever ordinances ſhould be enacted for that purpoſe. The election being over, the four and twenty drew up ſome articles, to which the parliament reſerved to themſelves a power to add, from time to time, ſuch others as ſhould be deemed neceſſary for the good of the ſtate. Theſe were in ſubſtance as follow:

I. That the king ſhould confirm the Great Charter, which he had ſworn ſo often to obſerve without any effect.

II. That the office of chief juſticiary ſhould be given to a perſon of capacity and integrity, that would adminiſter juſtice, as well to the poor as the rich, without diſtinction.

III. That the chancellor, treaſurer, juſtices, and other officers and public miniſters, ſhould be choſen by the four and twenty.

IV. That the cuſtody of the king's caſtles ſhould be left to the care of the four and twenty, who ſhould intruſt them with ſuch as were well affected to the ſtate.

V. That it ſhould be death for any perſon, of what degree or order ſoever, to oppoſe, directly or indirectly, what ſhould be ordained by the four and twenty.

VI. That the parliament ſhould meet at leaſt once every year, to make ſuch ſtatutes as ſhould be judged neceſſary for the welfare of the kingdom. They

They alſo ordered, that four knights ſhould be choſen by each county in England, to make enquiry into the grievances, of which their neighbourhood had reaſon to complain; and that theſe ſhould attend the enſuing parliament, in order to lay before that aſſembly the ſtate of their particular counties. The above articles were called the ſtatutes, or proviſions of Oxford; and not only the king, but prince Edward, the heir to the crown, ſolemnly ſwore to obſerve, and cauſe them to be obſerved, to the utmoſt of their power. Theſe articles, however, met, at firſt, with ſome oppoſition, particularly from the foreigners, among whom were the king's four half brothers and the queen's relations, who were ſuppoſed to be the authors of the national grievances, and whom Henry had now no longer any power to protect. The four brothers, after making a fruitleſs oppoſition, were ſo ſenſible of their danger, that they fled, and were eagerly purſued by the barons. Aymer, one of them who had been elected to the ſee of Wincheſter, took ſhelter with the reſt in his epiſcopal palace, which was ſoon ſurrounded, and they were threatened to be dragged out by force, and puniſhed for their crimes and miſdemeanors. The king pleaded the ſacredneſs of an eccleſiaſtical ſanctuary, and was glad to extricate them from this danger, by conſenting to their being baniſhed.

The barons being thus rid of theſe powerful foreigners, took an oath of aſſociation to ſtand by the proviſions of Oxford with their lives

and fortunes. They then removed all the principal officers of the crown, as the juſticiary, the chancellor, the treaſurer; and advanced either themſelves, or their friends and relations to their places; they even diſpoſed of the offices of the king's houſhold, and of the government of all the caſtles which were entruſted to thoſe in whom they could confide. The parliament then ſent commiſſioners to the citizens of London, to join in their aſſociation. This was eaſily obtained, they having greater reaſon to complain of the king than any other perſons in the kingdom. The foreigners were then ſentenced to perpetual baniſhment, by act of parliament; but as Aymer, biſhop of Wincheſter, was among the number of thoſe who were baniſhed, it was neceſſary, as the clergy had been long exempted from the civil juriſdiction, to make ſome excuſes to the pope, for their treating him with ſuch rigour, as well as to juſtify their proceedings againſt the king, and they ſent perſons to Rome for that purpoſe.

In the mean time, the king thus ſtripped of his authority, found himſelf obliged to aſſent to whatever the governors were pleaſed to preſcribe, and to ſign all the orders preſented to him for the obſervance of ſtatutes, that deprived him of all his prerogatives. Though the earl of Leiceſter was his brother-in-law, he conſidered him as his greateſt enemy: for, one day as he was going to the Tower by water, a ſudden ſtorm of thunder and lightning obliging him to land at the firſt ſtairs, it happened

pened to be at Durham-houſe, where the earl of Leiceſter then reſided. On his landing, he was received by the earl himſelf, who, to encourage him after his fright, told him, that he need not be afraid, for the ſtorm was over. "I am beyond meaſure, afraid of thunder and "lightning, replied the king; but by God's "hand, I fear thee more than all the thunder "in the world."

Henry had, indeed, reaſon to be under ſome apprehenſions of the earl of Leiceſter, who took all poſſible meaſures to prevent his freeing himſelf from the ſubjection to which his folly and imprudence had reduced him. The reſolution of the confederates to maintain their authority, evidently appeared on their being informed by the king's brother, now king of the Romans, that he intended to return to England; on which they ſent the biſhop of Worceſter, who met him at St. Omers, aſked him in the name of the barons, the reaſon of his journey, and inſiſted, that before he entered the kingdom, he ſhould ſwear to obſerve the proviſions of Oxford. Richard received the biſhop with great haughtineſs, and obſerved, that it was ſtrange the barons ſhould take upon them to alter the government in his abſence, and without his knowledge; that he would not take the oath, and yet would return to England. This anſwer being brought to the governors, they prepared to oppoſe him as a public enemy; fitted out a fleet, and aſſembled an army to prevent his landing. When finding that all oppoſition would be in vain, he

promiſed to ſubmit; upon which he was ſuffered to return to England; and upon his arrival at Dover, took the oath in the preſence of the king, and a great number of barons who went to meet him.

The confederates were very deſirous of preſerving a peace with France, leſt Lewis the Ninth, who was then ſeated on the throne, ſhould take advantage of the preſent poſture of affairs, to extend his conqueſts in Guienne. They therefore reſolved to conclude a firm and laſting peace with France, by ſecuring to Lewis Normandy and Anjou, which the French had obtained by conqueſt. To eſtabliſh this peace, the earl of Leiceſter went to Paris, and concluded a treaty, which Henry was obliged to ſign; and for that purpoſe, was perſuaded to meet Lewis at Abbeville, where the ſtates of France were aſſembled; and in their preſence, he renounced all his pretenſions to Normandy and Anjou; in return for which, Lewis gave up Limoſin and Perigord, with all that France poſſeſſed beyond the Garame, for which he was to do homage to Lewis, as duke of Guienne.

Though the barons appeared to be hitherto ſtrictly united, a ſecret diſguſt aroſe in the minds of ſome of them, on account of the too great authority of the earl of Leiceſter; the earl of Gloceſter, in particular, endeavoured to form a party againſt him. He firſt began with privately cenſuring his conduct, and ſpreading a report, that he had agreed with prince Edward to place him on his father's throne.

throne. This reaching the ears of the king, who was then at St. Omers, he was ſo terrified, that he did not dare to return to England. But Edward juſtified himſelf in ſo clear and reſpectful a manner, that he entirely effaced his father's ſuſpicions. The earl of Gloceſter, finding that theſe indirect methods of attacking the earl of Leiceſter were unſucceſsful, accuſed him of many miſdemeanors, and demanded a day to be fixed for hearing his accuſations againſt him. When the day arrived, the earl of Leiceſter boldly appeared to make his defence; but Gloceſter being afraid either of wanting evidence, or of Leiceſter's party being too ſtrong, deſired, that the affair might be farther adjourned. However, the king of the Romans made uſe of all his intereſt to produce a reconciliation, in which he at laſt ſucceeded.

Henry, who ſought to free himſelf from the yoke that had been laid upon him, privately ſent for his brother, the biſhop of Wincheſter, who was at Rome; and that prelate ſet out on his return, but died at Paris; which freed the barons from great uneaſineſs, as they could not have hindered his return to England, without breaking entirely with the pope.

His holineſs was at that time greatly diſſatisfied with the conduct of the barons, who had taken a moſt popular ſtep, that gave great ſatisfaction to the people and clergy of England, by expelling all the Italian eccleſiaſtics, and confiſcating their benefices. The extreme animoſity of the Engliſh clergy againſt the Italians

tians rendered him alſo diſguſted with them; whence an attempt, which they had made to render themſelves more independent on the civil power, was the leſs acceptable to the court of Rome. About the time when the above aſſociation was formed againſt the king, a ſynod of the clergy aſſembled at Merton, and paſſed ſeveral decrees, that were calculated to promote their own grandeur, at the expence of the prerogatives of the crown. Theſe were; that lay patrons had no right to confer ſpiritual benefices; that the magiſtrate was obliged, without further enquiry, to impriſon all excommunicated perſons; that it was unlawful to try eccleſiaſtics by ſecular judges; that the clergy were not to regard any prohibitions from civil courts, and that ancient uſage, without any particular grant or charter, was a ſufficient authority for any clerical privileges or poſſeſſions. Theſe were the chief points which had been defended with ſuch vigour and reſolution by Becket, and which had raiſed him to ſo high a rank in the catalogue of ſaints and martyrs. But the principles of the court of Rome were changed: the pope, exaſperated at the Engliſh clergy, who had boldly reſiſted his authority, and preſumed to complain of the preference given to his Italian courtiers, was ready, on the king's making application to him, to annul theſe new conſtitutions of the church of England; and at the ſame time, abſolved Henry and all his ſubjects from the oath they had been obliged to take, with reſpect to the proviſions of Oxford.

Prince

Prince Edward, notwithſtanding his youth, had obſerved the unhappy conſequences which flowed from the weakneſs, the inconſtancy, and repeated perjuries of his father, he reſolved to obſerve a different conduct; and for a long time, refuſed to take advantage of this abſolution; declaring, that how unreaſonable ſoever the proviſions of Oxford might be in themſelves, they ought ſtill to be adhered to by thoſe who had ſolemnly ſworn to obſerve them; and though he had been conſtrained, contrary to his own will, to take that oath, yet he was reſolved to keep it. By this means, the prince acquired the confidence of all parties, and was afterwards enabled to recover the royal authority.

At this time there was no regular military force in any of the kingdoms of Europe, where the feudal ſyſtem was eſtabliſhed: the defence of the community was ſolely entruſted to the barons; and after any effort, in which the ſtrength of the nation was exerted, the armies were diſbanded, and could not be ſpeedily reaſſembled. Hence it happened, that the prevalence of one party was no certain proof of its long continuance in power.

Henry no ſooner received the pope's abſolution from his oath, with menaces of excommunication againſt all who oppoſed him, than relying on the aſſiſtance of the church, and the ſupport promiſed him by many conſiderable barons, he appeared before the parliament, which was then aſſembled at London, and ſuddenly pulled off the maſk, declaring, to the unſpeak-

ſpeakable aſtoniſhment of the members, that before he was made to ſign the proviſions of Oxford, they had obliged themſelves to pay his debts and encreaſe his revenues; and ſince neither of theſe articles had been performed, he did not think himſelf bound by thoſe engagements; that he no longer intended to make uſe of the counſellors impoſed upon him, who treated him rather like a ſlave than a king. After this conciſe declaration, he retired to the Tower, the governor of which he had gained, and ſeized upon the public treaſure, which was lodged in that fortreſs. This firſt ſtep being taken, he removed, by proclamation, all the officers and magiſtrates choſen by the four and twenty, and nominated others in their room; and acted with a vigour, that ſeemed the effect of a firm reſolution to recover his independence.

Prince Edward, who was then at Paris, was no ſooner informed of this tranſaction, than, apprehenſive of its producing ſome miſchievous conſequences, he immediately returnd to England, in order to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to prevent a civil war. His arrival was impatiently expected by the barons, who hoped to make him ſenſible of his father's miſconduct; and to engage him, at leaſt, to act as a mediator, and to compromiſe a quarrel, which they were not then in a condition to maintain. Henry, with equal impatience, wiſhed for his return, with the full expectation of deriving freſh ſtrength and aſſiſtance from him; but he was ſtrangely confounded, at finding that Edward

ward loudly blamed him for the violation of his oath; and his confuſion was encreaſed by the re-union of the earls of Leiceſter and Gloceſter, who agreed to a reconciliation. The barons now let the king know, that unleſs he voluntarily removed from his perſon thoſe evil counſellors, who had given him ſuch pernicious advice, they would find means to remove them by compulſion.

Henry, who, in the heat of paſſion, had raſhly engaged in this enterprize, had now relapſed into his uſual perplexity and irreſolution, he knew not what anſwer to make, and therefore took no notice of the meſſage; but for fear of being ſeized, did not venture to leave the Tower. His fears however encreaſing, he, in order to add to the number of his partizans, publiſhed the pope's bull, which abſolved him from the obligations of his oath; a weak ſtep, which juſtly offended the nation, and gave his enemies freſh cauſe to repreſent him as a perſon on whoſe promiſes and oaths none could depend.

Every thing now ſeemed to threaten a civil war, though both parties were afraid to plunge the nation into ſo dreadful a calamity. The king of the Romans at length offered his mediation, which being accepted, he prevailed on the king, his brother, to declare, that he would confirm the ſtatutes of Oxford, and engaged the barons to relax the ſeverity of ſuch articles as were moſt diſagreeable to Henry. To this the greateſt part of them conſented: however, the earl of Leiceſter proteſted againſt

theſe

theſe alterations, alledging, that they could never ſafely confide in a prince who, for his own convenience, broke through the moſt ſacred obligations; and having made this declaration, he retired to France. Several other of the barons, though they expreſſed their diſlike to the articles as they now ſtood, yielded to the majority, rather than ſuffer the reproach of being the authors of inteſtine commotions. Thus the tranquillity of England ſeemed to be reſtored.

Every thing being, to appearance, happily concluded, Richard, king of the Romans, reviſited Germany, and Henry Guienne, in order to regulate ſome affairs there. But while the former was at Bourdeaux, he was ſeized with a dangerous illneſs, which detained him on the continent. During his abſence, the friends of liberty complaining, that the king had not yet confirmed the ſtatutes of Oxford, excited the pope to reſent the king's inconſtancy. The earl of Leiceſter now returned to England, where his preſence revived the courage of his friends; and the king being now recovered, haſtily embarked for England, in order to anticipate their deſigns. Immediately after Henry's return, they preſented to him an addreſs, in which they inſiſted upon his confirmation of the proviſions of Oxford, according to the laſt agreement; threatening, in caſe of refuſal, to do themſelves juſtice; fully expecting that Henry's timorous diſpoſition would induce him to comply with their demands.

Upon

The BLACK PRINCE.

Upon this occaſion, Henry's courage was raiſed by aſſurances of a ſupport, to which they were ſtrangers. Prince Edward had levied ſome foreign troops, which he brought into England, and marched with them againſt Llewellyn, prince of Wales, who had made incurſions into the territories of the Engliſh, and was ſuppoſed to act in concert with the confederated barons, as he only ravaged the lands belonging to Roger de Mortimer, and other noblemen who adhered to Henry. On Edward's approach, he retired into the inacceſſible mountains of North Wales, on which the prince having ſupplied the caſtle of Gannock, and other fortreſſes with proviſions and ſtrong garriſons, was recalled by his father.

In the mean time, Henry exacted an oath of fealty to his ſon Edward, from all the citizens of London; and in a parliament held at Weſtminſter, all the barons who were preſent, except Gilbert, earl of Gloceſter, who had ſucceeded his father, ſwore to maintain the ſucceſſion. Henry, alarmed at his refuſal, began to dread an inſurrection; and iſſued out writs to all the ſheriffs, enjoining them to require an oath from all perſons, at their county courts, that they would defend the king with their lives and fortunes; and after his death, ſupport his ſon Edward in his ſucceſſion to the throne. At the ſame time, the prince engaged the barons of the Cinque Ports to enter into the ſame engagements. On the other hand, the inferior clergy, who were unanimouſly in the intereſt of the barons, removed the ſcru-

ples of the people, whom they exhorted to join in the defence of their liberties.

The barons now aſſembled at Oxford, where they reſolved to maintain the proviſions of Oxford by force of arms; and choſe the earl of Leiceſter for their general. The few troops they had raiſed, being ſoon encreaſed to a prodigious number, he ſeized the biſhop of Hereford, who was a native of Burgundy, and had rendered himſelf odious, by his oppreſſing the clergy in the Cicilian affair. Simon, biſhop of Norwich, and John Manſel, the juſticiary, were alſo made priſoners, for having publiſhed the pope's bull, abſolving the king and kingdom from their oaths to obſerve the proviſions of Oxford. The king's demeſnes were ravaged, and the earl of Leiceſter, after making himſelf maſter of Glouceſter, Worceſter, and Bridge-north, advanced towards London, ſubduing all the king's caſtles in his way, and providing them with other governors and garriſons.

At this time, Henry reſided in the tower, and prince Edward, deſtitute of friends and money, was at Clarkenwell. The citizens of London declared for the barons, as did Thomas Fitz-Richard, the mayor; and formed themſelves into an aſſociation againſt all foreigners, whom they perſecuted with great ſeverity. Prince Edward now retired with his French knights to Windſor; and the queen, who, though ſhe was defended by the Tower, was terrified by the neighbourhood of her enemies, reſolved to follow her ſon by water to Wind-

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for caſtle; but as ſhe approached London-bridge, the populous aſſembled againſt her, abuſed her with the moſt opprobrious language, pelted her with rotten eggs and dirt; and as ſhe attempted to paſs through one of the arches, endeavoured to ſink the barge, by throwing into it large ſtones; upon which ſhe was ſo frightened, that ſhe returned to the Tower. The wealthy citizens were no leſs expoſed to the violence of the mob, which patroled the ſtreets in great bodies of horſe and foot; and being ſeized with the thirſt of plunder, broke open houſes, and committed the greateſt diſorders under the pretence of ſearching for foreigners.

Henry, finding himſelf unable to reſiſt the united power of the barons and the people, ſet on foot a treaty of peace; and on the eighteenth of July 1263, agreed to confirm the proviſions of Oxford in their full extent; and that all foreigners ſhould be baniſhed the kingdom, except ſuch as might be permitted to ſtay by the unanimous conſent of the commons; and that the adminiſtration of public affairs ſhould be entruſted to none but natural born ſubjects, approved by the barons.

The nobles having thus recovered their power, immediately reſtored Hugh le Deſpenſer to the office of high juſticiary, appointed new ſheriffs in every county, took poſſeſſion of all the royal caſtles, and even nominated all the officers of the king's houſhold. They then ſummoned a parliament to meet at Weſt-

minſter, on the fourteenth of October following, in order to ſettle a plan of government. In that parliament they produced a new liſt of twenty-four barons, to whom it was propoſed to commit the adminiſtration, and that their authority ſhould continue, not only during the reign of Henry, but alſo during that of his ſon.

Prince Edward had, before the king's accommodation with the barons, been taken priſoner by Leiceſter, in a parley at Windſor; and as he was the life and ſoul of the royal party, this incident had greatly contributed to determine Henry to ſubmit. Edward, however, on his recovering his liberty by this treaty, exerted himſelf in the defence of the prerogatives of the crown; and by his aſſiduity, gained over a great number of thoſe who had at firſt adhered to the cauſe of the barons. On which new negociations for peace were opened; and it was agreed by both ſides to ſubmit their diſputes to the arbitration of the king of France.

Lewis had never ceaſed interpoſing his good offices between the Engliſh barons and the king; and when this appeal was made to his judgment, he was not diſcouraged at his former ill ſucceſs. He ſummoned the ſtates of France to meet at Amiens; and there, in the preſence of Henry, and of Peter de Montfort, one of Leiceſter's ſons, brought this great cauſe to a trial, after which it appeared to him, that the proviſions of Oxford, being expreſsly eſtabliſhed as a temporary expedient, ought to be annulled,

annulled, and the king be reſtored to the poſſeſſion of his caſtles, to the power of nomination to the great offices, and to retain in his kingdom what foreigners he pleaſed, and even to raiſe them to places of truſt and dignity; but a little to qualify this determination, he declared, that a general amneſty ſhould be granted for all paſt offences, and that his determination was not meant to derogate from the privileges enjoyed by the nation, from former conceſſions and charters of the crown.

It is not ſurprizing, that this ſentence was no ſooner known in England than it was rejected; the latter part of the ſentence contradicting the former; he ratified the charters, yet annulled the proviſions of Oxford, which were only calculated to preſerve them. Hence the earl of Leiceſter, with his confederates, reſolving to have recourſe to arms, directed his ſons, Richard and Peter, with Robert de Ferrers, earl of Derby, to attack the city of Worceſter, while his two other ſons, Henry and Simon, were to join the prince of Wales, in ravaging the eſtate of Roger de Mortimer. He himſelf reſided in London, and by means of Fitz-Richard, the mayor, engaged the citizens to form themſelves into companies, and to practiſe all military exerciſes; an aſſociation was alſo entered into between the citizens and eighteen great barons, never to agree to a peace with the king, but by common conſent.

Henry and prince Edward, finding a civil war inevitable, ſummoned the military vaſſals, and being joined by ſeveral barons of the

north, had ſoon a conſiderable army. The royaliſts then attacked Northampton, which was then defended by Simon de Montfort and ſeveral of the principal barons; but a breach being made in the walls, the town was carried by aſſault, and both the governor and the garriſon were made priſoners. After this ſucceſs, prince Edward marched to Leiceſter and Nottingham, which opened their gates to him. The prince then proceeded with a detachment, into Derbyſhire, in order to ravage the lands of the earl of Derby. The ſame method was purſued by both parties, and the whole kingdom was thus, in a moment, expoſed to greater devaſtations from the reſentment of contending natives, than it might have ſuffered from the hoſtilities of a foreign enemy, in ſeveral years.

The earl of Leiceſter now laid ſiege to Rocheſter, the only place in the ſouth-eaſt of England that had declared for the king. Henry and prince Edward, who were then quartered at Nottingham, haſted to the relief of that city, which was defended by earl Warrenne, and ſeveral powerful barons. On their approach, Leiceſter raiſed the ſiege, and retreated to London, where being reinforced by a great body of Londoners, and by his partizans from all quarters, he reſolved to hazard a general battle, and to determine the fate of the nation in one deciſive engagement. To give the better colour to his cauſe, he ſent a meſſage to Henry, with conditions of peace, in the moſt ſubmiſſive terms, but without relaxing

laxing his demand. The meſſenger returned with the lie and defiance from Henry, the prince, and the king of the Romans; on which he ſent a new meſſage, renouncing, in his own name and thoſe of the aſſociated barons, all fealty and allegiance to Henry. He then marched out of the city with his army, divided into four bodies; the troops having firſt received a general abſolution from the biſhop of Chicheſter, who aſſured them, that thoſe who fell in the enſuing battle would be rewarded for ſuffering in ſo meritorious a cauſe, by being received into heaven.

Their march was conducted by Leiceſter with ſuch ſecrecy and expedition, that the royaliſts narrowly eſcaped being ſeized in their quarters at Lewes in Suſſex; but prince Edward, by his activity and vigilance, ſoon formed the troops, and led them into the field in three bodies. He himſelf commanded the right, the king of the Romans the left wing, and the king the centre, where he was placed in the rear, at the head of his principal nobility. The barons were formed into four diviſions: the firſt commanded by Henry de Montfort, Leiceſter's ſon: the ſecond by the earl of Glouceſter, the third by the earl of Leiceſter, and the fourth, conſiſting of Londoners, by Nicholas Seagrave. The battle was begun by prince Edward's attacking the Londoners, who had demanded the poſt of honour, with ſuch fury, that they could not ſuſtain the charge; and from ignorance of diſcipline and want of experience, were unable to reſiſt the gentry and military

military men, of whom the prince's body was compoſed. They were, therefore, inſtantly broken, and chaſed off the field, and Edward, tranſported with ardour, and eager to revenge the inſults they had offered to his mother, purſued and put them to the ſword, for the length of four miles from the field of battle, without giving them any quarter, and without reflecting on the reſt of the army. The earl of Leiceſter, ſeeing the royaliſts thus thrown into confuſion, led on his remaining troops againſt the bodies commanded by Henry and his brother: he defeated the forces headed by the king of the Romans, and that prince was obliged to yield himſelf priſoner to the earl of Glouceſter: he then penetrated to the body where Henry himſelf was placed, threw it into diſorder, purſued his advantage, chaſed it into the town of Lewes, and obliged Henry to ſurrender himſelf priſoner.

On prince Edward's return to the field of battle, after his long precipitate purſuit of the Londoners, he was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, at finding it covered with the bodies of his friends, and ſtill more, at hearing that his father and uncle were not only defeated, but taken priſoners, and that almoſt all the conſiderable barons of his party, were in the hands of the victorious enemy. Earl Warrenne, William de Valence, Guy de Luſignan, and Hugh Bigot, were at the ſame time ſeized with ſuch conſternation, that they fled with ſeven hundred men to Pevenſey, and eſcaped out of the kingdom. The prince, thus diſappointed in the

the midſt of his ardent hopes, ſtill continued intrepid, and endeavoured to animate his troops, to revenge the death of their friends, to relieve the royal captives, and to obtain an eaſy conqueſt from an enemy, whoſe victory had thrown them into diſorder. But he found them intimidated, diſmayed, and unable to recover themſelves. Leiceſter being afraid of a ſudden attack from the prince, amuſed him by a feigned negociation, till he was able to recal his troops, and had ſent ſome detachments to cut off Edward's retreat. There now appeared no farther reſource; Edward's party was ſorrounded by the troops of the enemy, deſtitute of proviſions and forage, and deprived of their ſovereign and principal leaders. Edward finding himſelf thus entangled in the ſnare, was obliged to ſubmit to whatever was propoſed. The negociation laſted but a few minutes, and a treaty was concluded on theſe conditions: that the ſtatutes of Oxford ſhould be punctually obſerved, under ſuch qualifications as ſhould be judged proper, by four biſhops or barons appointed in parliament: but if theſe four commiſſioners ſhould not agree, they ſhould be referred to the arbitration of the count of Anjou, brother to the king of France, aſſiſted by four French noblemen; and Edward himſelf with his couſin Henry, ſon to the king of the Romans, ſhould remain as hoſtages in the hands of the barons, till every thing was ſettled by the authority of parliament.

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The prince and young Henry, accordingly delivered themſelves up into the hands of Leiceſter, who ſent them under a guard to Dover caſtle. This agreement was commonly called, The Miſe of Lewes, from an obſolete French term, ſignifying agreement. Had Leiceſter the leaſt intention of aſſuming the ſupreme authority, he could not have had a more favourable opportunity; whence all the virulent charges of unbounded ambition, and views of aſcending the throne, with which he is charged by the advocates for the paſſive obedience of ſubjects to their ſovereign, muſt fall to the ground. But in this, and on every other occaſion, his principal view appears to have been the eſtabliſhment of thoſe liberties and privileges for which he fought.

The chief aim of the barons, in agreeing to the above articles, being to ſecure the perſon of prince Edward, they paid little attention to the execution of the convention. They obliged the king to ſign commiſſions, appointing certain officers or magiſtrates in every county, under the title of Conſervators, for preſerving the privileges of the people. The king then ſigned new writs to theſe conſervators, commanding them to appoint four knights in every county, to ſit as repreſentatives in the enſuing parliament; and from this era, many writers date the origin of that right which the commons of England enjoy, of compoſing one part of the legiſlature, by their repreſentatives.

The parliament being aſſembled, the following plan of government was approved: That three

three commiſſioners, of undoubted ſagacity and diſcretion, ſhould be nominated by parliament, and that theſe ſhould be empowered to chuſe a council of nine noblemen, to whoſe care ſhould be entruſted the adminiſtration of public affairs; and that, with the conſent of the king and the commiſſioners, the nine counſellors might be occaſionally changed: but if any diſagreement in opinion aroſe among the three commiſſioners, on the choice of the counſellors, the diſpute ſhould be determined by the majority: that the reſolutions of the nine ſhould be executed with the approbation of ſix of the number; but when that could not be procured, the affair ſhould be referred to the determination of the three great commiſſioners: that the king, with the conſent of the barons, ſhould have power to diminiſh or change theſe commiſſioners; and that the nine counſellors ſhould have the nomination of all public officers. Theſe regulations were to ſubſiſt, till altered or annulled by parliament. The three commiſſioners were the earls of Leiceſter, and Glouceſter, with the biſhop of Chicheſter; who having extorted the approbation of the king and prince Edward, governed the kingdom upon this new model.

The queen, whom Henry had left abroad, no ſooner heard of the king's ill ſucceſs, than ſhe borrowed a ſum of money, raiſed forces, and equipped a fleet, in order to releaſe her huſband and ſon. A great number of ſoldiers of fortune, from Germany, Burgundy, and other countries, flocked to Damme in Flanders,

ders, where ſhe had appointed the place of rendezvous, while the French king ſecretly favoured all her enterprizes, and was generally believed to be making preparations for the ſame purpoſe. This reaching the ears of Leiceſter, he obliged Henry to write to Lewis, deſiring him to deſiſt from his martial preparations, and interpoſe his good offices, in producing a ſolid peace between the crown and the barons. Lewis paying little regard to this addreſs, Henry repeated his remonſtrances, entreating him not to ſend or ſuffer any of his forces to come over to England, leſt ſuch a ſtep might be prejudicial to his ſon Edward and his nephew Henry, who were hoſtages in the power of the barons; and leſt it ſhould again involve the kingdom in confuſion and blood-ſhed.

The barons of the Marches, a country bordering on Wales, had openly declared againſt the proceedings in the laſt parliament. Leiceſter therefore marched thither, in order to ſuppreſs them, or to compromiſe matters in ſuch a manner, as to prevent domeſtic diſturbances. He accordingly reduced their caſtles, and ravaged their lands, till they were obliged to give hoſtages for keeping the peace; after which he retured to London, to oppoſe the deſcent of the enemy. He had before iſſued writs in the king's name, ſummoning all the military tenants to appear in arms at London. He required a certain number of armed infantry from every hamlet, according to its ſize, while the cities and boroughs were ordered to provide both horſe and foot, with maintenance for

for forty days, at the common expence of the inhabitants. Writs were alſo iſſued to all the ports in Norfolk and Suffolk, to equip veſſels under the direction of Hugh le Deſpenſer, the juſticiary, who undertook to guard that part of the coaſt, while the earl of Leiceſter commanded the fleet fitted out by the Cinque Ports, to ſecure the ſouthern parts from invaſion.

But the fears of a deſcent ſoon vaniſhed; for the forces aſſembled by queen Eleanor diſperſed, on account of her wanting money to pay them; and it appeared that Lewis had never entertained the deſign of landing in England.

In the mean time, cardinal Guido, the pope's legate, arrived at Boulogne, with orders to excommunicate by name, the earls of Leiceſter, Glouceſter, and Norfolk; and all their adherents, unleſs they would inſtantly abjure the ſtatutes of Oxford, reſtore the king to the full enjoyment of his royal prerogatives, and ſet prince Edward and his couſin Henry at liberty. The barons, after forbidding the legate to enter the kingdom on pain of death, ſent the biſhops of London, Wincheſter, and Worceſter, with Hugh le Deſpencer, and Peter de Montfort, to treat with the king of France, in the legate's preſence, about the reformation of the ſtate: and were inſtructed to propoſe, that two of their number and two French noblemen, choſen by Lewis, ſhould act as arbitrators. This negociation, however, miſcarrying, the legate commanded the biſhops, un-

der the penalty of eccleſiaſtical cenſures, to carry his bull into England, and to publiſh it againſt the barons. However, when the prelates arrived off the coaſt, they were boarded by ſome of the ſhips of the Cinque Ports; when, probably giving a hint to the mariners, of the cargo they brought along with them, they ſeized the bull, tore it in pieces, and threw it into the ſea; and this furniſhed the prelates with a good excuſe for not obeying the legate's orders. Leiceſter then appealed from the legate to the pope; but before the ambaſſadors, appointed to defend his cauſe could reach Rome, the pope was dead, and they found Guido, from whom they had orders to appeal, ſeated on the papal throne, under the name of Urban IV.

The earl of Leiceſter, notwithſtanding his zeal for the liberty of his country, and his being one of the braveſt warriors, and greateſt ſtateſmen of the age, appears on ſeveral occaſions to have been actuated by pride, and a degree of inſolence, that made him treat thoſe in the oppoſite intereſt with too much rigour, and even the heads of his own party, with an unbecoming air of ſuperiority. For ſome miſdemeanor, he impriſoned the earl of Derby, in the Tower, and made the then earl of Glouceſter his enemy, as he had before done his father. That earl, though one of the three great commiſſioners, to whom was entruſted the government of the ſtate, was ſo diſguſted at Leiceſter's behaviour, that he left him,

him, and joined his enemies, and this was followed by the moſt fatal conſequences.

Prince Edward, who had been kept in confinement ever ſince the battle of Lewes, being extremely popular, had the general wiſhes of the nation for his reſtoration to liberty: Leiceſter therefore ſtipulated with the prince that he ſhould in return, order his adherents to deliver up their caſtles, and in particular, thoſe on the borders of Wales, to the barons; and ſhould ſwear, that he would not leave the kingdom within the ſpace of three years, nor cauſe any foreign forces to be brought into it. Henry alſo took an oath to the ſame purpoſe, and likewiſe paſſed a charter, in which he confirmed the agreement of Lewis, and even gave permiſſion for his ſubjects to take arms againſt him, if he ſhould ever attempt to infringe it.

After the concluſion of this treaty, prince Edward was brought into Weſtminſter-hall, and declared free by the barons: but ſoon found, that inſtead of recovering his liberty, he was no more than a priſoner at large. As Glouceſter, on his quarrel with the barons, retired to his eſtates on the borders of Wales: Leiceſter followed him with an army to Hereford, where he endeavoured to prevail on him to join him, by negociations and menaces; and to add authority to his cauſe, had with him, both the king and the prince. Here Glouceſter concerted meaſures with young Edward, to procure his eſcape; and ſending him a horſe of extraordinary ſwiftneſs, appointed Roger de Mortimer to be near at hand with a

ſmall party, to guard the prince to a place of ſafety.

On the twenty eighth of May 1265, Edward, under the pretence of taking the air with ſome of Leiceſter's retinue, who had been appointed his guards, rode out and made matches between their horſes; and after having ſufficiently tired and blown them, ſuddenly mounted the horſe ſent him by Glouceſter; and calling to them that he had enjoyed the pleaſure of their company long enough, bad them farewel. They followed, without being able to overtake him, till ſeeing Mortimer with his company, they put an end to the purſuit, and returned with the unwelcome news of the prince's eſcape.

The royaliſts, who had been ſecretly prepared for this event, inſtantly flew to arms; and Edward, aſſiſted by the earl of Glouceſter and his friends, ſoon raiſed a much more numerous army than Leiceſter had brought with him. That nobleman now found himſelf in a remote part of the kingdom, encompaſſed by his enemies, debarred by the Severn, from all communication with his diſtant friends, Edward having cauſed all the bridges to be broken down. In this diſagreeable and dangerous ſituation, he wrote to his ſon Simon de Montfort, at London, to march with all poſſible diligence with an army for his relief. Simon advanced to Kenilworth, where imagining that Edward's ſole attention was directed againſt his father, he lay unguarded; but the prince making a forced march, ſuddenly ſurprized him in his camp, diſ-

diſperſed his army, and took the earl of Oxford and many other noblemen priſoners. During Edward's abſence, Leiceſter, who was ignorant of his ſon's fate, paſſed the Severn in boats, and lay at Eveſham, hourly expecting to be joined by his friends from London. The prince, who took advantage of every incident, ordered a body of his troops to advance from the road which led to Kenilworth, with the banner taken from Simon's army, while he himſelf, with the reſt of his forces, took a circuit, in order to attack the enemy on the other ſide. For a conſiderable time, Leiceſter was deceived by this ſtratagem, and took one diviſion of Edward's army for his friends; but was at length undeceived, when aſcending a ſmall eminence to obſerve the number and diſpoſition of the enemy, he was ſo ſtruck at ſeeing their great ſuperiority and order, that he exclaimed, "They have learned from me "the art of war, the Lord have mercy on our "ſouls; for I ſee our bodies are the prince's." He did not, however, abandon himſelf to unmanly deſpair; but ſeeing himſelf ſurrounded on all ſides, drew up his troops in a compact circle, and exhorted them to fight like brave men, whoſe lives and liberties were at ſtake. Unhappily for Leiceſter, the Engliſh army, by living in the mountains of Wales, without bread, which was not then much uſed among the inhabitants, had been extremely weakened by ſickneſs and deſertion, and were but ill able to ſecond his courage; but they were not diſmayed. Edward attacked his troops

with a body of the Welch, with ſuch inconceivable fury, that being unable to ſuſtain the firſt onſet, they fled, and were purſued with great ſlaughter. Glouceſter, at the ſame time, charged with equal intrepidity in another quarter; but notwithſtanding the incredible efforts made by thoſe two impetuous commanders, and the precipitate flight of the Welch, Leiceſter maintained the battle with ſurprizing intrepidity, from two in the afternoon till night. The king received a wound in the ſhoulder, and was in the moſt imminent danger of his life: but crying out, "I am Henry of Win-"cheſter your king," he was ſaved; and prince Edward hearing his voice, immediately haſted to the ſpot, and conducted him to a place of ſafety; and before he returned, Leiceſter was ſlain, aſking for quarter, which was refuſed, his horſe being firſt killed under him. His ſon Henry did not long ſurvive him, and his principal leaders being ſlain, his troops made no further reſiſtance. In ſhort, all the people of conſequence in the army were either ſlain or taken; and a great number of gentlemen and common ſoldiers fell in the field. Thus Edward obtained a compleat victory. Leiceſter's body being found among the dead, was barbarouſly mangled, and treated with the utmoſt indignity, by Roger Mortimer, who ordering his head to be cut off, ſent it to his wife.

The face of affairs was now entirely changed. The victors uſed their ſucceſs with uncommon rigour. The king, who was naturally rapacious,

cious, reſolved to ſacrifice his enemies to that unkingly paſſion. He convoked a parliament at Wincheſter, in which the effects of all who had taken arms againſt him were confiſcated to the uſe of the crown. It was reſolved to lay ſiege to London, and to puniſh the citizens with the utmoſt ſeverity, on account of their being always attached to the malecontents; but they ſubmitted themſelves to the mercy of the king, who deprived them of their gates, chains, magiſtrates, and charter, which the inhabitants were obliged to redeem with a very large ſum of money. The mayor and ſome of his aſſociates were impriſoned, till they had purchaſed a pardon with the greateſt part of their ſubſtance. The confederated barons were perſecuted with the utmoſt ſeverity; their effects ſeized, and they themſelves purſued from place to place, till they were almoſt reduced to deſpair. Simon de Montfort, one of the ſons of the earl of Leiceſter, had endeavoured to ſecure a protector in Richard, king of the Romans, who was a hoſtage under his care, in the caſtle of Kenilworth, from whence, without ranſom, he now releaſed him, and many other captives of note, who had been taken in the battle of Lewes.

As the king was eagerly deſirous of ſeizing all the eſtates and poſſeſſions of thoſe who had preſumed to riſe in the cauſe of liberty, Simon quitted the caſtle of Kenilworth, after leaving in it a good garriſon, and aſſembling the remains of his father's army, took poſſeſſion of the iſle of Axholme, in Lincolnſhire, which he

he fortified as a retreat for himſelf and his friends, a conſiderable number of whom joined him. Edward marched thither at the head of his forces; and though the place was ſtrongly fortified, both by art and nature, he carried on his attacks with ſuch vigour, that the beſieged, after a brave defence, were obliged to ſurrender, upon aſſurance of life and limb; but with reſpect to their eſtates, they agreed to ſubmit to the judgment of prince Edward and the king of the Romans. In conſequence of this capitulation, Simon de Montfort appeared at court, where he found a warm advocate in the king of the Romans, who aſſured Henry, that immediately after the battle of Eveſham, he ſhould have been murdered by the garriſon of Kenilworth, had not Montfort ſaved his life, at the hazard of his own, and ſet him at liberty without ranſom; on which account, he deſired that he might receive a free pardon. This was warmly oppoſed by the earl of Glouceſter; and it was at laſt determined, that Montfort ſhould quit the kingdom, and enjoy an annuity of five hundred marks a year.

The peace of the kingdom was not, however, perfectly reſtored; for the caſtle of Kenilworth ſtill held out againſt the royaliſts, and a body in arms, in the northern counties, committed depredations, in defiance of the king's authority. Henry, the ſon of Richard, king of the Romans, was ſent againſt the latter, and diſperſed them; but not being able to ſecure the perſons of their chiefs, they took poſſeſ-

poſſeſſion of the iſle of Ely, and truſting to the ſtrength of their ſituation, ventured to make a long and vigorous reſiſtance, but were at laſt reduced, as was alſo the caſtle of Dover, by the valour and activity of prince Edward. However, Adam de Gourdon, a baron of great bravery, maintained himſelf for ſome time in the foreſts of Hampſhire, and obliged the prince to march againſt him. Edward attacked his camp; and being tranſported by the ardour of battle, leaped over the trench, with a few of his followers, and encountered Gourdon in ſingle combat; that baron, as ſoon as they engaged, ordered his attendants to retire. The victory was long diſputed, but ended at laſt in the prince's favour; for Gourdon's foot ſlipping, he fell to the ground, and remained at the mercy of the victor; who not only gave him his life, but procured his pardon, reſtored him to his eſtate, received him into favour, and was ever after faithfully ſerved by him.

It is remarkable, that the king, amidſt all this ſucceſs, was fully ſatisfied with filling his coffers; and that no blood was ſhed, nor any attainders, except the Montfort family were carried into execution. Though a parliament attainted all who had born arms againſt the king, he himſelf was at length ſatisfied with receiving compoſitions for their lands.

The earl of Glouceſter thought his merit ſo great in reſtoring the prince to his liberty, and aſſiſting him in his victories againſt the rebellious barons, that it was not eaſy to ſatisfy his demands; and in 1267, on ſome new diſ-

guſt,

guſt, he excited the populace of London to take arms; and the prince was obliged to raiſe an army to ſuppreſs them; for which that earl was only obliged to give a bond of twenty thouſand marks, that he would never more be guilty of rebellion.

In 1270, prince Edward finding the peace of the kingdom reſtored, prompted by the love of glory, reſolved to comply with the ſolicitations of the king of France, to undertake an expedition into the Holy Land; and as the formidable power of the earl of Glouceſter gave him ſome apprehenſions, he reſolved to take him with him; that nobleman having, for ſome time before, made a vow to go and fight againſt the infidels. He ſailed with an army from England, and arrived in Lewis's camp, before Tunis, in Africa, where he found that prince already dead. Not diſcouraged by this event, prince Edward continued his voyage to the Holy Land, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his valour, revived the glory of the Engliſh name in thoſe parts, and ſtruck ſuch terror into the infidels, that they ſent an aſſaſſin to murder him. The villain, under the pretence of ſettling a correſpondence between Edward and the governor of Joppa, who feigned a deſire to turn Chriſtian, found means to be admitted into the prince's preſence, and frequently to diſcourſe with him. At laſt, being one day alone with the prince in his chamber, he attempted to ſtab him in the belly with a dagger; when Edward warding off the blow, was wounded in the arm. The aſſaſſin, enraged

raged at this diſappointment, was going to repeat the blow, when the prince, giving him a kick on the breaſt, beat him down backwards, and inſtantly leaping upon him, wrenched the dagger out of his hand, and killed him on the ſpot. The prince's wound was much more dangerous than it appeared, on account of the dagger's being poiſoned; and the appearance of a gangrene, made all about him deſpair of a cure; but there was, happily, a ſkilful ſurgeon in the army who delivered him from the danger. Some have affirmed, that he owed his life to the affectionate tenderneſs of Eleanora, his ſpouſe, who ventured to ſuck the venon out of the wound. But this circumſtance is not mentioned by any cotemporary author. Prince Edward's army daily diminiſhing by ſickneſs, and engagements with the Saracens, and having no hopes of a ſupply from Europe, he concluded a truce for ten years, ten months, and ten days; and embarking with his remaining troops, ſet ſail for England.

Mean while, the prince's abſence was attended with many pernicious conſequences: the laws were not executed, and injuſtice, riot, and oppreſſion enſued. The old king, unequal to the burthen of public affairs, called aloud for his gallant ſon to return, and enable him to ſupport the ſceptre that was ready to drop from his hand. At laſt, overcome by the infirmities of age, he viſibly declined, and died at St. Edmundſbury on the ſixteenth of November 1272, in the ſixty-fourth year of his

his age, and the fifty-ſixth of his reign, which is the longeſt that is to be met with in the Engliſh annals. His brother Richard, king of the Romans, died about ſeven months before him.

Henry left only two ſons, Edward, who ſucceeded him, and Edward, earl of Lancaſter; and two daughters, Margaret, queen of Scotland, and Beatrix, ducheſs of Britanny. Henry's character appears viſibly through the whole courſe of his reign. An extreme fondneſs for his friends and flatterers, precluded the love of his people, whom he ſeemed to deſpiſe, and to treat as if they were only made to contribute to his pleaſure, by giving him unbounded ſupplies, to enable him laviſhly to enrich his paraſites. He was of ſo ſupple a diſpoſition, as to be always governed by thoſe about his perſon; whence he was as much a priſoner in the hands of thoſe whom he eſteemed his friends, as when in the power of thoſe whom he called his enemies; and was eaſily induced, for the ſake of preſent convenience, to ſacrifice the laſting advantages ariſing from the love and confidence of his people. Regardleſs of all the obligations of truth, honour and juſtice, he violated the moſt ſolemn oaths, and illegally plundered thoſe whom it was his duty to protect, for no other purpoſe, but to gratify the avaricious wiſhes of his pretended friends; and by thus making his arbitrary will, or rather that of his miniſters, the rule of his actions, he threw down the

the barrier between the king and the people; and made it neceſſary for them to riſe in defence of the privileges they claimed from their anceſtors, and which were handed down to them in the charters of Henry I. and John. In ſhort, no man was, perhaps, ever leſs fit to be a king; for he wanted both judgment, courage, reſolution, and ſteadineſs, and ſtill more, an affection for his people, and a deſire to make them happy. Yet though his mind was corrupted by his imbibing the moſt arbitrary ſentiments, he had few of the diſpoſitions of a tyrant, and was far from being of a cruel and ſanguinary temper.

Miscellaneous Observations.

The aſſize of bread was fixed in the thirty-fifth year of Henry III. according to the different prices of corn, from 1s. a quarter to 7s. 6d. the money of that age. And it was enacted by a ſtatute, that the brewers may ſell two gallons of ale in cities, for a penny, and in the country, three or four gallons for the ſame price.

In that age, intereſt amounted to an amazing height, both in England, and in the reſt of Europe; there being an edict of Philip Auguſtus, about the beginning of this reign, which limits the Jews in France, to receive no more than forty-eight per cent; and in England, there are inſtances of fifty per cent being then given for money. It is no wonder, that ſuch amazing profits tempted the Jews to remain in the kingdom, notwithſtanding the op-

preſſions to which they were continually expoſed from the rapine and bigotry of the age, and their being hated, both on account of their religion, their riches, and their uſury. The extortions practiſed upon them, are ſcarcely to be conceived. In 1241, they were obliged to pay twenty thouſand marks: money was again extorted from them two years after, when one Jew was obliged to pay above four thouſand marks. Henry renewed his oppreſſions in 1250, when the ſame Jew, upon an accuſation of forgery, was condemned to pay him thirty thouſand marks. Mr. Hume obſerves, that this high penalty, which it ſeems he was thought able to pay, is rather a proof of his innocence than of his guilt. In 1255, the king obliged the Jews to pay eight thouſand marks, and threatened to hang them, if they refuſed to comply. They now loſing all patience, begged for leave to quit the kingdom with their effects; but the king anſwered, "How can I remedy your oppreſſions? I am "myſelf a beggar: I am ſpoiled; I am ſtripped of all my revenues; I owe above "200,000 marks; and if I had ſaid 300,000, "I ſhould not exceed the truth. I muſt have "money from any hand, from any quarter, or "by any means." He then delivered over the Jews to his brother, that he might again ſtrip them. His father, king John, once demanded 10,000 marks from a Jew of Briſtol, and on his refuſal, ordered one of his teeth to be drawn every day, till he ſhould conſent; when,

when, after losing seven teeth, he paid the sum.

In order to found a pretence for extortions, an absurd accusation was, at different times, revived in England, that they had crucified a child in derision of the sufferings of Christ; and eighteen of them were at once hanged for this crime, though nothing can be more improbable, than their being guilty of an action so infamously cruel, and so dangerous to themselves, where they could have no temptation to commit it: and it evidently appears, that such accusations were only brought for a pretence to kill the men and get possession of their fortunes; for in that age, bigotry was carried to such a height, that so far from desiring to convert them, a law was enacted in France, that if any Jew embraced Christianity, he should forfeit all his goods.

In this reign, the trial by ordeal was abolished by order of council. It is also observed, that Henry granted a charter to the town of Newcastle, in which he gave the inhabitants a licence to dig coals, and that this is the first mention of coal in England.

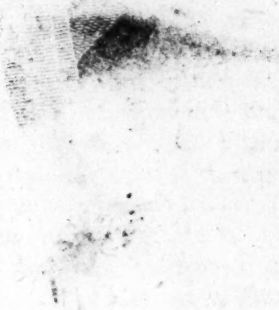
CHAP. II.

EDWARD I.

Surnamed LONGSHANKS.

He returns from the Cruſade to England. His civil Adminiſtration, and Conqueſt of Wales. The State of Scotland. Edward decides who, among the Competitors, has the beſt Right to the Crown, and gives it to Baliol. He goes to War with France, and afterwards with Scotland. He engages in ſeveral illegal Methods in raiſing Money; again makes War with France, and at his Return, is obliged to ſign the two Charters. He obtains a Bull from the Pope to free him from his Oath to obſerve them, and afterwards finally eſtabliſhes them, by ſigning them without Compulſion. The Diſputes between him and France referred to the Pope. The Scots under Willian Wallace recover the Freedom of their Country; but are again ſubdued, and Wallace Suffers as a Traitor. The third Revolt of Scotland, under Robert Bruce, who is put to Flight. The Death and Character of Edward. Miſcellaneous Occurrences.

AS Henry's death happened when the heir of the crown was abroad, the lords of the council, apprehending danger from delay, haſted



EDWARD I.

haſted to proclaim prince Edward the next morning, to ſwear allegiance to him, and to ſummon the parliament to provide for the peace and ſafety of the ſtate. Walter Giffard, archbiſhop of York, the earl of Cornwall, the ſon of Richard, king of the Romans, and the earl of Glouceſter, were appointed guardians of the realm; and proceeded without oppoſition to the exerciſe of their authority. Edward was ſo greatly eſteemed for his military genius and great abilities, that none could entertain the leaſt hope of obtaining any advantage, by raiſing diſturbances in the kingdom during his abſence.

That prince had reached Sicily in his return from his cruſade, when he received the news of his father's death; on which occaſion he diſcovered a deep concern. He was at the ſame time told of the death of his ſon John, an infant, whom Eleanor of Caſtile, his princeſs, had brought forth at Acre, in Paleſtine. He appeared leſs affected with that misfortune, at which the king of Sicily expreſſing his ſurprize, Edward told him, that the loſs of a ſon he might hope to repair; but that of a father was irreparable.

Edward immediately proceeded towards England; but ſoon receiving an account of the tranquillity enjoyed by that kingdom, he was in ſo little haſte to take poſſeſſion of the throne, that he ſpent near a year in France. As he was paſſing by Chalons, in Burgundy, the prince of that country challenged him to ſhew his ſkill and dexterity at a tournament he was

preparing; and as Edward excelled in thoſe martial exerciſes, he did not decline the opportunity of diſtinguiſhing himſelf in that great aſſembly of nobles. But the engagement became a too ſerious affair; for the French knights, provoked at the great advantages obtained by the ſuperior proweſs of Edward and his retinue, had the brutality to fall upon them, and, not without much bloodſhed, were repulſed. This rencounter obtained the name of The Little Battle of Chalons.

Prince Edward proceeded from Chalons to Paris, where he did homage to Philip for the dominions he held in France. Then proceeding to Guienne, he put a ſtop to ſome confuſions which had ariſen in that province. He then returned through France to England, where he was received with the joyful acclamations of the people; and on the nineteenth of Auguſt 1274, was ſolemnly crowned at Weſtminſter, by Robert, archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Edward began his reign with correcting thoſe diſorders which his father's looſe adminiſtration had introduced into all parts of the kingdom. He reſolved to diminiſh the power of the great, and to give protection to the inferior orders of the ſtate, by an exact diſtribution of juſtice, and a rigid execution of the laws. The next year he cauſed ſeveral uſeful ſtatutes to be enacted in a parliament held at Weſtminſter. He made ſtrict enquiries into the conduct of all the judges and inferior magiſtrates, and diſplaced ſuch as were negligent or corrupt. Thus, by his rigid adminiſtration, he ſoon changed the face

face of the kingdom; and juſtice and order took place of oppreſſion and violence.

Amidſt the various diſorders which had ſubſiſted in the kingdom, the adulteration of the coin cauſed great complaint; and this was imputed to the Jews, and Edward was ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed againſt them. Two hundred and eighty of thoſe people, were at once hanged for this crime in London alone, beſides thoſe who ſuffered in the other parts of the kingdom.

Towards the latter end of the late reign, the Jews had, by bribing the king's council, been admitted to almoſt all the privileges of the Chriſtian natives, and purchaſed houſes, lands, and manors. Theſe, as well as the goods of great multitudes of them, were now ſold and confiſcated; and to prevent its being ſuſpected, that the guilt of the ſufferers chiefly conſiſted in their wealth, the king ordered a moiety of the money raiſed by theſe confiſcations to be ſet apart, and diſtributed among ſuch as were willing to be converted to Chriſtianity; but very few of them were induced by intereſt, to embrace the religion of their perſecutors. Some time after, Edward, prompted by his zeal, reſolved to free the kingdom entirely from that hated race, and to ſeize at once all that belonged to them. He left them only money ſufficient to bear their expences into foreign countries: but the inhabitants of the Cinque Ports, filled with the ſame bigotry and avidity as their ſovereign, robbed them of this ſmall pittance, and even threw many of them into the ſea: for which the king, who was reſolved

to

to be the ſole plunderer in his dominions, inflicted upon them a capital puniſhment. It is ſaid, that 15,000 Jews were at this time ſtripped of their effects and baniſhed.

The cruel tyranny thus exerciſed on the Jews, probably proceeded from the poverty of the crown; an evil which Edward alſo endeavoured to remove, by more juſt and honourable means. He introduced a ſtrict frugality in the management of his revenue: he prevailed on the parliament to grant him a fifteenth of all moveables: he obtained from the pope a grant of the tenth of all eccleſiaſtical revenues for three years, and engaged the merchants to conſent to a perpetual tax of half a mark on every ſack of wool exported, and a mark on every three hundred ſkins: he likewiſe iſſued commiſſions to ſearch into all encroachments on the royal demeſne. The commiſſioners ſoon began to carry matters too far againſt the barons, and to queſtion titles to eſtates, which, for ſeveral generations, had deſcended from father to ſon. Earl Warrenne, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the royal cauſe during the late reign, being deſired to ſhew his titles, he drew his ſword, ſaying, that William the Baſtard had not conquered the kingdom for himſelf alone: that his anceſtor was a joint adventurer in the enterprize, and he was reſolved to maintain what had from that time remained unqueſtioned in his family. This rendering the king ſenſible of the danger of proceeding too far, he immediately

mediately put a ſtop to any farther enquiries of that nature.

Edward, in 1276, engaged in an enterprize more agreeable to his active diſpoſition. Llewellyn, prince of Wales, had, during the late reign, employed every expedient to promote the ſucceſs of the barons. He had afterwards obtained his pardon, but had reaſon to dread the future effects of Edward's jealouſy. For this reaſon, he kept up a ſecret correſpondence with his former friends, and even paid his addreſſes to a daughter of the earl of Leiceſter, who was ſent to him from the continent; but being intercepted in her paſſage near the iſles of Sicily, was detained in the court of England. This incident encreaſing the jealouſy which ſubſiſted between Edward and Llewellyn, the latter, on being ordered to come to England to do homage to the king, was unwilling to put himſelf into his hands, and therefore deſired a ſafe conduct, and to have the king's ſon and other noblemen delivered to him as hoſtages; and alſo inſiſted, that his ſpouſe ſhould be firſt ſet at liberty. Edward refuſed all Llewellyn's demands, except that of a ſafe conduct; and after having repeatedly ſummoned him to perform the duty of a vaſſal, raiſed an army to reduce him to obedience; obtained a new aid of a fifteenth from parliament, and marched with a certain aſſurance of ſucceſs.

As there was no proportion between the forces of Edward and thoſe of the Welch prince, the latter retired among the mountains

of

of Snowdon, where he reſolved to defend himſelf to the laſt extremity. Edward, equally brave and cautious, marched with a formidable army from the north; and having carefully examined every road before, and ſecuring every paſs behind him, drew near the Welch army, in its laſt retreat. Unwilling to put to trial the bravery of a nation, proud of its ancient independence, he truſted to the ſlow, but ſure effects of famine; and the Welch, being deſtitute of magazines, and cooped up in a corner, ſoon felt all the rigours of famine; and Llewellin, without being able to ſtrike one blow, was at laſt obliged to ſubmit at diſcretion; on which he bound himſelf to pay fifty thouſand pounds to Edward, to do him homage, and relinquiſh all the country between Cheſhire and the river Conway.

On Llewellin's performing the other articles, Edward remitted the payment of the fifty thouſand pounds, which, from the poverty of the country, he was probably unable to raiſe. Complaints, however, ſoon aroſe on the ſide of the vanquiſhed; the Engliſh, inſolent on obtaining ſo eaſy a victory, oppreſſed the inhabitants of the diſtricts that were yielded to them; and even the lords of the marches, committed with impunity all kinds of violence on their Welch neighbours; which exciting their indignation, made them reſolve, rather to encounter every danger, than to ſubmit to ſuch oppreſſions. They therefore flew to arms; and Edward gladly embraced the opportunity of making an entire conqueſt of Wales. Having ſummoned

moned all his military tenants, he marched thither with an army much too powerful to allow them any reaſonable hopes of a victory. The Welch, at firſt, received ſome advantage from the ſituation of the country, over Luke de Tany, one of Edward's captains; who, with a detachment, had paſſed the Menaw; but ſoon after Llewellin had the misfortune to be ſurprized by Mortimer, when a battle enſuing he was ſlain, with two thouſand of his followers. His brother David, who ſucceeded him in the principality, was never able to collect an army ſufficient to face the Engliſh: he was chaſed from mountain to mountain; hunted from one retreat to another; obliged to uſe various diſguiſes in order to conceal himſelf; and was at laſt diſcovered in his lurking place. Edward, upon this occaſion, behaved with a cruelty that ſtains his character. He ſent him to Shrewſbury in chains, brought him to a formal trial before the peers of England, and cauſed this ſovereign prince, for defending by arms his own hereditary authority and the liberty of his country, to be hanged, drawn, and quartered as a traitor. All the nobility of Wales now ſubmitted to the conqueror: the laws of England were eſtabliſhed in that principality, and thus, by the abilities of Edward, that country was, in 1283, added to England.

It is ſaid that Edward, from the opinion, that nothing animates the mind with the love of military glory ſo much as poetry, aſſiſted by the power of muſic and feſtive jollity, had all the

the Welch bards aſſembled, and from a barbarous policy, cauſed them to be ſlain.

Edward, in order to flatter the vanity of the Welch, is ſaid to have left his queen, when near her time, in the caſtle of Caernarvon, where ſhe was delivered; and ſoon after aſſembling the Welch, promiſed to give them a prince of unexceptionable manners, a Welchman by birth, and one who could ſpeak no other language; and on their acclamations of joy, and promiſes of obedience, he produced the infant, and inveſted him with that principality. Trifling as ſuch an expedient may appear, it was calculated to produce a happy effect, on the minds of the people, who loved their country, and had a partiality for their countrymen. Alfonſo, Edward's eldeſt ſon, dying ſoon after, the infant, prince Edward became heir to the crown of England, and from this time, Wales gave a title to the eldeſt ſon of the Britiſh monarchs.

Two years after the ſettlement of Wales, Edward croſſed the ſea, in order to reconcile Alphonſo king of Arragon, and Philip the Fair, who had a little before ſucceeded his father Philip the Hardy, in the poſſeſſion of the crown of France. Their difference was occaſioned by the kingdom of Sicily, which the pope had given to Charles, brother to St. Lewis, and which Charles the father of Alphonſo claimed from other titles. As Edward had received powers, from both princes, to ſettle the peace, he ſucceeded in the attempt. He continued abroad about three years, and then returned,

turned, when he found that during his abſence many diſorders had prevailed from the corruption of the ſtream of juſtice.

In order to remedy this abuſe, Edward ſummoned a parliament, and brought the judges to a trial; when all of them, except two, who were clergymen, were convicted of receiving bribes; and were not only turned out of their offices, but fined in ſuch large ſums, that they amounted together to above 100,000 marks; a ſum, which in thoſe days was ſufficient to carry on an expenſive war. The judges choſen in their room were obliged to ſwear that they would take no bribes.

As the affairs of Scotland form a very intereſting part in the following tranſactions of this, and of ſome of the following reigns, it will be neceſſary here, to give a conciſe account of the ſtate of that kingdom, at this period. Alexander III. who had married the ſiſter of Edward, died in 1286, by a fall from his horſe at Kinghorn, without leaving any male iſſue, or any other deſcendant, but Margaret the daughter of Eric, king of Norway, and of Margaret the daughter of Alexander. This princeſs, who was commonly called The Maid of Norway, though a female, an infant, and a foreigner; had, through her grand-father's care, been acknowledged ſucceſſor by the ſtates of Scotland; and on the death of Alexander, the ſteps which had been previouſly taken, appeared ſo juſt and prudent, that ſhe was acknowledged queen of Scotland, without any of thoſe diſorders in the kingdom, that might

naturally be apprehended. The biſhops of St. Andrews and Glaſgow, the earls of Fife and Buchan, and James, ſteward of Scotland, who were appointed her guardians, entered peaceably upon the adminiſtration. Hence the infant princeſs, under the protection of Edward her great uncle, and Eric her father, ſeemed firmly ſeated on the throne of Scotland.

This event appeared of the utmoſt importance to Edward, who built upon it the hopes of uniting, in his ſon, the whole iſland into one monarchy, which would be the greateſt ſecurity both againſt foreign invaſions, and domeſtic convulſions. He had lately, by force of arms, ſubdued Wales, and now in 1290, formed a marriage between Margaret and his eldeſt ſon Edward. The friendſhip which for ſome time paſſed, had prevailed between the two nations, greatly facilitated the execution of this project, which ſeemed ſo likely to conduce to the happineſs and grandeur of both nations; and the ſtates of Scotland readily conſented, that their young queen ſhould be educated in Edward's court. Yet being ſolicitous to preſerve the liberty and independency of Scotland, they took care to ſtipulate before this agreement, that they ſhould enjoy all their ancient laws, liberties, and cuſtoms; that, in caſe young Edward and Margaret ſhould die without iſſue, the crown of Scoland ſhould revert to the next heir, and be inherited by him free and independent; that the military tenants of the crown ſhould never be obliged to leave Scot-

Scotland, to do homage to the ſovereign of the united kingdoms: that the parliaments ſummoned for the affairs of Scotland, ſhould always be held in that kingdom; and that Edward ſhould bind himſelf to obſerve all theſe articles, under the penalty of paying 100,000 marks to the pope for the uſe of the Holy War. Thus, theſe two nations treated on a foot of equality, in the whole courſe of this tranſaction; and though Edward aſſented to the article relating to the future independency of the crown of Scotland, with *a ſaving of his former rights*, this gave no alarm to the nobility of that kingdom, they having ſo near a proſpect of ſeeing them entirely abſorbed in the rights of their ſovereignty.

This flattering project, ſo amicably conducted, fell to nothing, from the ſudden death of this princeſs, who, in 1291, died in her paſſage from Norway to Scotland, and afforded that kingdom a very diſagreeable proſpect. The regency, for the preſent, prevented all diſorders; but it could not be expected that the ſucceſſion to the crown would be peaceably ſettled by the deciſions of reaſon and argument alone, or even by the ſtates of the kingdom amidſt many powerful competitors.

The right to the crown devolved on the iſſue of David earl of Huntingdon, whoſe male line being extinct, left the ſucceſſion open to the poſterity of his three daughters; Margaret, the wife of Allan, lord of Galloway, Iſabella, wife of Robert Bruce, lord of Anandale, and Adama, who married Henry, lord Haſtings.

Margaret, the eldeſt of the ſiſters, left one daughter, named Devergilda, who was married to John Baliol, by whom ſhe had a ſon of the ſame name, who was one of the preſent candidates for the crown: Iſabella, the ſecond, had a ſon named Robert Bruce, who alſo inſiſted on his claim, and Adama, the third, left a ſon, John Haſtings, who pretended that the kingdom ſhould, as in ſome other inheritances, be divided among the three daughters of the earl of Huntingdon; and that, in right of his mother, he had a claim to one-third of it. Baliol and Bruce united againſt Haſtings, in aſſerting, that the kingdom was indiviſible; but each maintained the preference of his own title, by plauſible reaſons. Baliol was ſprung from the elder branch, and Bruce was one degree nearer the common ſtock, ſince he was grandſon to David, while his competitor was only grandſon to that prince's eldeſt daughter. As the ſentiments of men were divided, all the nobility took part with one ſide or the other; and the people implicitly followed their leaders, the ſtate was threatened with the miſeries of a civil war.

In that age, it was uſual for princes and ſtates to refer the deciſion of their diſputes to a foreign prince. Hence the parliament of Scotland, induced by the great reputation of Edward, and the amicable correſpondence which ſubſiſted between the two kingdoms, agreed in making a reference to that prince; and the biſhop of St. Andrews, with other deputies, were ſent to ſolicit his good offices, in the preſent

ſent dangers to which they were expoſed; and to interpoſe the aſſiſtance of a power, which none of the competitors would dare to withſtand.

This exciting Edward's ambition, he reſolved to lay hold of the preſent favourable opportunity, of reviving the claim of the kings of England, to a feudal ſuperiority over Scotland, imagining that if this pretenſion were once ſubmitted to, the abſolute ſovereignty of Scotland would ſoon follow. In purſuit of this project, Edward buſied himſelf in ſearching for proofs of his pretended ſuperiority, in the numerous records kept in monaſteries, down from the time of Edward the Elder.

The king of England, to enforce his proofs, advanced to the frontiers, and invited the competitors, and alſo the parliament of Scotland, to attend him in the caſtle of Norham, which is ſeated on the ſouthern banks of the Tweed; and when the Scotch had thus put themſelves in his power, Edward opened the conferences, by his chief juſticiary's informing the parliament, that the king was come thither to determine the right among the competitors to the crown; that he would do ſtrict juſtice to all parties, and was intitled to this authority, not in virtue of their having referred it to him, but as ſuperior and liege-lord of the kingdom. The pretended proofs of this ſupperiority were then produced. The Scotch parliament being ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at this new pretenſion, remained ſilent; upon which, the king deſired them to remove into their own country, to de-

liberate upon his claim, examine his proofs, and inform him of their reſolution: he then appointed a place on the northern banks of the Tweed for that purpoſe.

The barons of Scotland, filled with indignation at the injuſtice of this unexpected claim, found themſelves betrayed into a ſituation, in which it was impoſſible for them to defend the ancient liberty and independence of their country.

On this occaſion there appeared no leſs than nine claimants for the crown, beſides the three already mentioned, and the king of Norway, who claimed as heir to his daughter Margaret; but none of theſe had a juſt legal pretence. They all, however, behaved to Edward with equal obſequiouſneſs. Robert Bruce was the firſt that acknowledged his right of ſuperiority over Scotland; and, in a petition, in which he ſet forth his claim to the crown, had previouſly applied to him as liege-lord of the kingdom; and they all, when required, made a like acknowledgement, with ſeeming willingneſs, though Baliol was the laſt in doing it.

This being done, Edward gave orders that Baliol, with thoſe who adhered to him, ſhould chuſe forty commiſſioners; and Bruce, with his adherents, forty more. The king added twenty-four Engliſhmen to theſe, and then directed theſe hundred and four commiſſioners, to examine the cauſe, and make their report to him, promiſing to give his determination in the following year. Mean while he pretended, that it

was neceſſary to have all the fortreſſes of that kingdom put into his poſſeſſion, that he might be enabled to place the true heir on the throne, without oppoſition; and this demand was complied with, both by the parliament and the claimants. Before this aſſembly broke up, all the barons and prelates who were preſent, ſwore fealty to Edward; and the king appointed commiſſioners to receive the ſame oath from all the other perſons of diſtinction in the kingdom.

Edward leaving the commiſſioners to ſit at Berwick, and examine the titles of the competitors, went ſouthwards, to aſſiſt at the funeral of his mother, queen Eleanor, who had juſt died, and to compoſe ſome diſputes which had ariſen among his principal barons. Gilbert, earl of Glouceſter, the greateſt nobleman in England, had married the king's daughter; and elated by that alliance, and by his power, thought himſelf above the laws, and ſuffered his bailiffs and vaſſals to ravage the lands of Humphrey, earl of Hereford, who retaliated the injury. But ſuch illegal proceedings could not now paſs with impunity; for a ſentence being paſſed againſt them, Edward committed them to priſon, till he had exacted a fine of ten thouſand marks from his ſon-in-law, and one thouſand from the earl of Hereford.

In 1292, the title of John Baliol and Robert Bruce appearing to be beſt founded, Edward, after having the affair diſcuſſed by the moſt celebrated lawyers in Europe, pronounced ſentence in favour of Baliol, who, upon renewing

renewing his oath of fealty, was put in poſſeſſion of the kingdom, and all his fortreſſes reſtored to him.

Edward now, inſtead of exerting his rights of ſuperiority with moderation, encouraged all appeals to England; obliged Baliol himſelf, by ſix different ſummonſes on trifling occaſions, to come to London; denied him the privilege of defending his own cauſe by a procurator; and obliged him, as if he had been a private perſon, to appear at the bar of his parliament. By this treatment, Edward plainly intended to enrage Baliol to take up arms againſt him, in order that he might conquer him, and ſeize the dominion of the ſtate, to puniſh him for his treaſon. And, indeed, though Baliol was a prince of a ſoft and gentle diſpoſition, he was ſo highly provoked on his return to Scotland, that he reſolved, at all hazards, to vindicate his liberty; and a war ſoon after breaking out between England and France, he had a favourable opportunity for gratifying his revenge.

It happened, that an Engliſh and a Norman ſhip met off the coaſt, near Bayonne, and both of them wanting water, their boats were ſent to land, and the crews of each coming at the ſame time to the ſame ſpring, a quarrel aroſe about who ſhould have the water firſt. A Norman attempted to ſtab, with his dagger, an Engliſhman, who grappling with him, threw him down, when falling, as it is ſaid, on his own dagger, he was ſlain. Trifling as this ſcuffle may appear, with reſpect to England

land and Normandy, it was ſufficient to kindle a bloody war between the two nations, and to involve a great part of Europe in the quarrel.

Theſe Norman mariners carried their complaints to the French king, when Philip, without enquiring into the fact, or demanding redreſs, bad them take their revenge, and not trouble him any more about it. The Normans needed no more. They ſeized an Engliſh ſhip in the channel; and hanging ſeveral of the crew along with ſome dogs, on the yard arm, in the preſence of their companions, diſmiſſed the veſſel, and told the mariners they might inform their countrymen, that vengeance was now taken for the blood of the Norman killed at Bayonne.

This inſtance of barbarous cruelty, accompanied with ſuch a deliberate inſult, enraged the mariners of the Cinque Ports, who, without complaining to the king, treated with the ſame barbarity, all French veſſels, without diſtinction. The French, in return, provoked by their loſſes, attacked the ſhips of all Edward's ſubjects, either Engliſh or Gaſcon, while the ſovereigns taking no notice, ſeemed to continue indifferent ſpectators. The Engliſh entered into private aſſociations with the Iriſh and Dutch ſailors; the French with the Flemiſh and Genoeſe. The animoſities on both ſides becoming daily more violent and barbarous, a Norman fleet of two hundred ſail, ſteering to the ſouth for wine and other commodities, ſeized all the Engliſh ſhips they met with in their paſſage; hanged the ſeamen, and

and took the cargoes. This event reaching the ears of the inhabitants of the Engliſh ſea-ports, they fitted out a fleet of ſixty ſail, ſtronger and better manned than the others; and waited for the return of the enemy; and on their coming, ſunk, deſtroyed, or took the greateſt part of them. No quarter was given; and the Norman fleet, being employed in tranſporting a conſiderable body of ſoldiers from the ſouth, the French are ſaid to have loſt on this occaſion fifteen thouſand men.

An affair of ſuch importance could be no longer overlooked. The French king diſpatched an envoy to demand reparation and reſtitution, and Edward ſent the biſhop of London to Philip, to accommodate the quarrel. The French, perhaps, the more diſguſted from their being loſers in the quarrel, refuſed all the expedients that were offered: the ſhips and cargoes of the merchants on both ſides were confiſcated: the Engliſh continued their depredations in the channel, and the Gaſcons on the weſtern coaſt of France. The French king cited Edward, as duke of Guienne, to appear in his court at Paris, and anſwer for theſe offences; and the king of England, from the apprehenſion of that province's being in danger, ſent John St. John to Bourdeaux, to put Guienne in a poſture of defence. To prevent a final rupture with France, he alſo ſent his brother Edmund, earl of Lancaſter, to Paris.

As Edmund had married the queen of Navarre, mother to Jane, queen of France, he appear-

appeared the moſt proper perſon for finding expedients to accommodate the affair. Both Jane and Mary, the queen dowager, pretended to interpoſe their good offices; and told Edmund, that the moſt difficult circumſtance to adjuſt, was the point of honour with Philip, who was affronted with the injuries committed againſt him, by his ſub-vaſſals in Guienne: but if the king would conſent to give him ſeiſin and poſſeſſion of that province, he would eſteem his honour fully repaired, would engage to reſtore Guienne immediately, and be eaſily ſatisfied with reſpect to all other injuries. Edward was conſulted, who finding himſelf in danger of a war with the Scots, which he conſidered as a ſtill more important concern, and blinded by his favourite paſſion for ſubduing that people, ſuffered himſelf to be deceived by ſo barefaced an artifice. He therefore ſent orders to his brother, to conclude and ſign a treaty with the two queens; Philip ſolemnly promiſed to execute his part of it; and recalled the citation for the king's appearance in the court of France: but no ſooner was the French monarch in poſſeſſion of Guienne, than the citation was renewed, Edward condemned for non-appearance; and, by a ſentence in form, Guienne was declared to be forfeited, and annexed to the crown of France.

Edward was equally enraged and aſhamed of being ſo egregiouſly over-reached, and of his having fallen into a ſnare, not unlike that which he had ſpread for the Scots. Senſible of the difficulty of recovering Guienne, where he

he had not kept a ſingle place in his hands, he endeavoured to compenſate for that diſadvantage, by forming alliances with ſeveral European princes, who ſhould attack France on different ſides, and thus divide the forces of that kingdom. For that purpoſe, he entered into a treaty with Adolphus of Naſſau, king of the Romans, Amadæus, count of Savoy, the archbiſhop of Cologne, the counts of Luxemburgh and of Guelders; the duke of Brabant and count of Barre, who had married his two daughters Margaret and Eleanor: but theſe alliances proved extremely burthenſome and of no ſervice.

Edward, after having compleated his Engliſh army, by emptying the jails of many thouſand thieves and robbers, was detained in England firſt by contrary winds, then by the apprehenſion of an invaſion from Scotland; and by the rebellion of the Welch, whom he ſuppreſſed, and again brought under ſubjection. The army which he ſent to Guienne, was under the command of his nephew John de Bretagne, earl of Richmond; and under him of St. John, Tibetot, de Vere, and other officers of reputation, who made themſelves maſters of the city of Bayonne, as well as of Bourg, Blaye, Rions, St. Severe, and other places, which cut off the communication of Bourdeaux, both by ſea and land. Theſe conqueſts were facilitated by the regard which the Gaſcon nobility bore to the government of the Engliſh; and this ſeemed to promiſe ſtill greater ſucceſs; but the miſconduct of ſome of the

the officers, ſoon loſt this advantage. Charles de Valois, who commanded the French army, laying ſiege to Podenſac, a ſmall fortreſs near Rions, obliged Giffard, the governor, to capitulate; who conſented to articles, which, though favourable to the Engliſh, left all the Gaſcons priſoners at diſcretion, and Valois hanged about fifty of them as rebels. This cruel policy intimidating that people, cauſed an irreparable breach between them and the Engliſh. Immediately after, Valois attacked Rions, which was commanded by the earl of Richmond; who, not thinking the place defenſible, drew his troops to the water-ſide, in order to embark with the greateſt part of his army: but the enraged Gaſcons fell upon his rear, and at the ſame time opened their gates to the French, who not only became maſters of the place, but took many priſoners of diſtinction. Hugh de Vere, ſon of the earl of Oxford, defended St. Severe with greater reſolution, but at laſt was obliged to capitulate. Philip, not content with his ſucceſs in Gaſcony, ſuddenly invaded England, and burnt Dover; but his troops were ſoon after obliged to retire. In order to make Edward divide his forces, he alſo formed a ſecret alliance with John Baliol, king of Scotland; and this was the beginning of that ſtrict union, which, for many centuries, was maintained between France and Scotland.

As Edward was conſcious of his having juſtly exaſperated the Scots, and expected the moſt violent effects of their reſentment, he prepared

for carrying on hoſtilities againſt them. While he was in this ſituation, he was informed of the treaty ſecretly concluded between John and Philip; and though troubled and perplexed by his being obliged to carry on a war with both nations, he determined not to encourage his enemies by his puſillanimity, and therefore in 1296, ſummoned John to perform the duty of a vaſſal, by ſending him a ſupply of forces againſt an invaſion with which he was threatened by France; and to require the fortreſſes of Berwick, Jedborough, and Roxborough, to be put into his hands, as a ſecurity during the war: he alſo cited John Baliol to appear in an Engliſh parliament to be held at Newcaſtle.

None of theſe ſucceſſive demands being complied with, Edward marched with an army of 4000 horſe, and 30,000 foot, to chaſtiſe his rebellious vaſſal. The Scots, who had little reliance on the vigour and abilities of their prince, aſſigned him a council of twelve noblemen, in whoſe hands was really lodged the ſovereignty; and put the country in the beſt poſture poſſible. A great army, compoſed of 40,000 foot, with only 500 horſe, advanced to the frontiers; and having made a fruitleſs attempt upon Carliſle, marched eaſtwards to defend the provinces which Edward was preparing to attack. But now Robert Bruce, the father and ſon, the earls of March and Angus, with others of the moſt conſiderable of the Scotch nobles, foreſeeing the ruin of their country, from the concurrence of a foreign invaſion

vaſion and inteſtine diviſions, endeavoured to obtain Edward's favour by an early ſubmiſſion. The king, encouraged by this favourable incident, marched into the enemy's country, where he received a meſſage from John Baliol, who having procured pope Celeſtine's diſpenſation from his former oaths, renounced the homage he had paid to England, and ſet Edward at defiance. The military operations of the Scots, ill ſupported this bravado. Berwick was already taken by aſſault, the governor taken priſoner, and above ſeven thouſand of the garriſon cruelly put to the ſword.

Edward, elated at this ſucceſs, diſpatched earl Warrenne with 12,000 men to beſiege Dunbar, which was defended by the flower of the nobility of Scotland.

As this place was of the utmoſt importance, ſince, on its being taken, the whole country would lie open to the enemy, the Scots advanced with their main body, commanded by the earls of Buchan, Lenox, and Marre, in order to relieve it. Warrenne, diſregarding their great ſuperiority in number, gave them battle on the 27th of April, 1296; and attacking them with great vigour, threw them into confuſion, and chaſed them off the field, with a prodigious ſlaughter, in which 20,000 of the Scots are ſaid to have been ſlain. The caſtle of Dunbar ſurrendered the next day to Edward, who, after the battle, had joined Warrenne with the main body of the Engliſh forces, and now proceeded with full confidence of ſucceſs. The caſtle of Roxborough was delivered

up by James Stewart, of Scotland; and that nobleman, from whom is deſcended the royal family of Stuart, was again obliged to ſwear fealty to Edward. The caſtles of Edinburgh and Stirling, after a feeble reſiſtance, opened their gates to the enemy. The Engliſh inſtantly ſubdued all the ſouthern parts; and, that they might the more eaſily reduce the northern, which was defended by its mountains, Edward ſent for a ſtrong reinforcement of Welch and Iriſh, who were the beſt fitted to purſue the fugitive Scots into their receſſes. In the mean while, the ſpirit of the nation was broken; and the timid Baliol, diſſatisfied with his own ſubjects, and over-awed by the Engliſh, haſted to make his ſubmiſſions to Edward; and expreſſing the deepeſt repentance for his diſloyalty to his liege-lord, ſolemnly reſigned his crown into the hands of that prince.

Edward now marched northward, to Aberdeen and Elgin, while no Stochman approached him, but to pay him ſubmiſſion and do him homage; and even the highlanders, though ever refractory to their own princes, endeavoured to give him early proofs of obedience, to prevent the devaſtation of their country. Edward having thus reduced the whole kingdom to an apparent ſtate of tranquility, returned with his army to the ſouthward.

At Scone was a ſtone, to which the popular ſuperſtition of the nation paid the higheſt veneration: all their kings, at their inauguration, were ſeated upon it: they were aſſured, by an ancient tradition, that wherever it was placed, their

their nation ſhould always govern; and hence it was carefully preſerved in that place, as the palladium of their monarchy. Edward got poſſeſſion of this ſtone, and took it with him to England; and he is alſo ſaid to have given orders to deſtroy all the records, that might preſerve the memory of the independents of Scotland. The great ſeal of Baliol was broken, and he himſelf carried a priſoner to London, and confined in the Tower; but was reſtored to liberty two years after, on condition of his ſubmitting to a voluntary baniſhment in France; where he died in a private ſtation, without having made any attempt to regain his crown. The government of Scotland was entruſted to earl Warrenne: all the chief offices were given to Engliſhmen; and Edward, flattering himſelf that, by his numerous acts of fraud and violence, he had obtained the end of all his wiſhes, in the reduction of Scotland, returned to England, with his victorious army.

About this time he found, that an attempt he had made to recover Guienne was much leſs ſucceſsful. He had ſent thither his brother, the earl of Lancaſter, with an army of 7000 men, who, at firſt, gained ſome advantages over the French at Bourdeaux; but being ſeized with a diſtemper, he died at Bayonne; and the command devolved on the earl of Lincoln, who was unable, during the reſt of the campaign, to perform any thing worthy of notice.

Edward now finding, that the diſtance of Guienne, rendered all his efforts againſt that

province feeble and uncertain, reſolved to attack France in a more vulnerable quarter; and for that purpoſe, married Elizabeth his daughter to John earl of Holland; at the ſame time he entered into an alliance with Guy earl of Flanders, to whom he agreed to pay the ſum of 75,000 l. and by their united forces, propoſed to invade the dominions of Philip. He flattered himſelf, that when he appeared at the head of the Engliſh, Dutch and Flemiſh armies, reinforced by German allies, whom he had purchaſed by conſiderable ſums, he ſhould ſoon be able to oblige Philip to relinquiſh his acquiſitions, and to perfect a peace, by reſtoring Guienne. But conſiderable ſupplies were neceſſary to ſet this great machine in motion. Edward, without much difficulty, prevailed on the parliament to grant him a twelfth of all the moveables of the barons and knights; an eighth from all the boroughs; and likewiſe a fifth of the moveables of the church: but he here met with an oppoſition, by which all his meaſures were diſconcerted.

Pope Boniface VIII. having ſucceeded Celeſtine, had reſolved to carry his dominions over the temporal power, to as great an height as any of his predeceſſors. Being ſenſible that ſeveral of the former popes, by oppreſſing the clergy, had extremely alienated their affections, and enabled the civil magiſtrate to lay impoſitions on eccleſiaſtical revenues, he reſolved to reſume the authority of the ſovereign pontiff, in being the protector of the ſpiritual order, againſt all invaders; and on his aſcending the papal

papal throne, had iſſued a bull, prohibiting all princes from levying taxes upon the clergy, without his conſent, and all clergymen from ſubmitting to them, under the penalty of excommunication, in caſe of diſobedience. When, therefore, a demand was made on the clergy, of a fifth of their moveables, they ſheltered themſelves under this bull, and pleading conſcience, refuſed to comply. The king, on this repulſe, did not chuſe to come immediately to extremities; but after prohibiting all rent to be paid them, and cauſing their granaries and barns to be locked up, appointed a new ſynod to confer with him upon his demand. Robert de Winchelſey, archbiſhop of Canterbury, here told him, that the clergy owed obedience to two ſovereigns, their ſpiritual and their temporal; and as they were bound by duty to a much ſtricker attachment to the former than to the latter, they did not dare to comply, in oppoſition to the expreſs prohibition of their ſpiritual ſovereign.

Edward, inſtead of applying to the pope to recal his bull, reſolved to employ the power in his hands, and told the clergy, that ſince they refuſed to ſupport the civil government, they were unworthy to receive any benefit from it; and he would therefore put them out of the protection of the law. This was immediately carried into execution. Orders were iſſued to the judges to receive no cauſes which the clergy brought before them; to hear and determine all cauſes, in which they were defendants;

dants; to do juſtice to every man againſt them, and to them juſtice againſt no body.

The clergy were ſoon reduced to a moſt miſerable ſituation. The want of ſubſiſtence would not permit them to remain in their own houſes or convents; and if they went abroad to obtain ſupport, they were robbed of their horſes and clothes, inſulted by every ruffian, and unable to obtain redreſs for the moſt violent inſults. The primate himſelf was attacked on the highway, ſtripped of every thing about him, and reduced to the neceſſity of boarding with only a ſingle ſervant, in the houſe of a country clergyman. Mean while, the king remained an indifferent ſpectator of all theſe acts of violence; and, employing his officers in any immediate injury on the prieſts, took ample vengeance on them for their refuſing to comply with his demands.

This harſh treatment at laſt broke the ſpirits of the clergy. The whole province of York, which was moſt in danger from the Scots, had voted from the firſt a fifth of their moveables; and now the biſhops of Saliſbury, Ely, and ſome others, made a compoſition for the ſecular clergy within their ſees; and agreed, inſtead of paying a fifth, by which they would have diſobeyed Boniface's bull, to depoſit a ſum equivalent to it, in ſome church that was appointed them, from whence the king's officers took it. Many convents and clergymen made a payment of a like ſum, and received the king's protection: and there were very few eccleſiaſtics in the kingdom, who appeared willing

willing to ſuffer this new ſpecies of perſecution, for the ſake of their religious privileges.

As the ſum granted by parliament was not ſufficient to anſwer the king's neceſſities, and that raiſed by the clergy came in ſlowly, Edward, to obtain a farther ſupply, exerted the moſt arbitrary and oppreſſive meaſures. He limited the quantity of wool which the merchants were allowed to export, and illegally obliged them to pay him a duty of forty ſhillings a pack, upon what they exported. All the reſt of the wool, as well as all the leather in the kingdom, he ſeized into his own hands, and diſpoſed of them for his own benefit. He obliged the ſheriffs of every county, to ſupply him with two thouſand quarters of wheat, and as many of oats, which he allowed them to ſeize wherever they could be found: the cattle, and whatever elſe were neceſſary for the ſupport of his army, were taken without the conſent of the owners; and though he promiſed to pay afterwards the value of every thing, the people ſaw but little probability that a prince, who paid no regard to the laws, could ever be reduced, amidſt his multiplied neceſſities, to obſerve his engagements.

Notwithſtanding the great perſonal regard which had been felt for the king, theſe acts of violence and arbitrary power, raiſed murmurs among every order of men; and it was not long before ſome of the great nobility gave countenance to theſe complaints. Edward having aſſembled an army on the ſea-coaſt, which he propoſed to ſend into Gaſcony, while he

he himſelf in perſon intended to invade Flanders, propoſed to put theſe forces under the command of Humphrey Bohun, earl of Hereford, the conſtable, and Roger Bigot, earl of Norfolk, marſhal of England; but they refuſed to go into Gaſcony, maintaining, that they were only obliged by their office, to attend his perſon in the wars. A violent altercation followed; and Edward, in the height of his paſſion, addreſſing the conſtable, cried, "Sir earl, be-"gone, you ſhall either go or hang." "By "God, Sir king, replied Hereford, I will "neither go nor hang," and immediately drew off with the marſhal, and above thirty of the other conſiderable barons.

The king, on being thus oppoſed, laid aſide the deſign of an expedition againſt Guienne, and aſſembled the forces which he himſelf intended to take into Flanders. But the two earls, irritated in the conteſt, declared, that none of their anceſtors had ever ſerved in that country, and refuſed to perform the duty of their office, in muſtering the army. Edward, now thinking it prudent to proceed with moderation, inſtead of attainting the earls, appointed Thomas de Berkeley, and Geoffrey de Greyneville, to act as conſtable and marſhal. He then endeavoured to become reconciled with the church, and taking the primate into favour, made him, in conjunction with Reginald de Grey, tutor to the prince, whom he intended to make guardian of the kingdom, during his abſence. He even condeſcended to aſſemble a great number of the nobility in Weſtminſter-

minſter-hall, to whom he made an apology for his paſt conduct, pleading the urgent neceſſities of the crown, his extreme want of money, his engagements both from honour and intereſt to ſupport his allies abroad, promiſing if he ever returned in ſafety, to redreſs all their grievances, and to make full ſatisfaction to his ſubjects for all their loſſes. Mean while, he entreated them to ſuſpend their animoſities; judge of him by his future conduct; to remain faithful to his government; or if he periſhed in the preſent war, to preſerve their allegiance to his ſon.

The king had certainly given ſufficient cauſe for kindling a civil war in England, which might have been carried on againſt him in his abſence, with the aſſiſtance of the Scots, to great advantage; but his vigour and abilities kept every one in awe; and his prudence in ſtopping on the brink of danger, and thus retracting the meaſures, on which he had been hurried by his arbitrary principles and the violence of his temper, preſerved the nation from ſo dreadful a calamity. The two great earls proceeded no farther than drawing up a remonſtrance, which was preſented to the king at Winchelſea, when he was ready to embark; in which they complained of the violations of Magna Charta, and the charter of the foreſts; the violent ſeizure of corn, cattle, leather, and above all, of wool, a commodity which they aſſerted was equal in value to half the lands in the kingdom; the arbitrary tax of forty ſhillings a pack, on the ſmall quantity of wool,

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the merchants were allowed to export; and claimed an immediate redreſs of all their grievances. To which the king anſwered, that the greateſt part of his council were at a diſtance, and that he could not deliberate on meaſures of ſuch conſequence, without their advice.

Soon after, the conſtable and marſhal, in conjunction with the barons of their party, reſolved to take advantage of the king's abſence, and to obtain his aſſent to their demands. On their being ſummoned to attend the parliament at London, they came with a conſiderable body of horſe and foot; and before they entered the city, gave orders that the gates ſhould be delivered up to them. The primate, who ſecretly favoured their pretenſions, induced the council to comply, on which they became maſters, both of the young prince, and of the reſolutions in parliament. Their demands were, however, ſuch as ſufficiently teſtified the purity of their intentions; for they only required that the two charters ſhould be ſolemnly confirmed; that a clauſe ſhould be added, as a perpetual ſecurity to the nation, againſt all impoſitions and taxes, without the conſent of parliament; and that they themſelves, and their adherents, ſhould be pardoned for refuſing to attend the king into Flanders, and be again received into favour.

Theſe terms were aſſented to by the prince of Wales and his council; and the charters were ſent into Flanders to be confirmed by the king. Edward complied with the utmoſt reluctance;

ſtance; being unwilling to ſet limits to his lawleſs authority; and for three days, delayed, on various pretences, to give any anſwer to the deputies: but the pernicious conſequences of his refuſal being repreſented to him, he at laſt, with great unwillingneſs, affixed his ſeal to the charters, and alſo to the clauſe that ſtripped him of the power he had aſſumed of impoſing arbitrary taxes on the people.

The conſtable and marſhal, on being informed of the king's compliance, not only ceaſed from diſturbing the government, but afterwards aſſiſted the regency againſt the Scots, who had taken arms, and thrown off the yoke of England.

In order to finiſh this intereſting affair relating to the charters, we ſhall here, before we proceed, give a brief view of the ſucceeding events relating to them. Theſe two noblemen and their friends, being ſenſible that the moſt trifling pretence would be ſufficient to make the king retract what he had done, inſiſted on his return to England, that he ſhould renounce any claim that might be derived from his having affixed his ſeal to them in a foreign country. This confirmation, he, however, delayed as long as poſſible; and when he was obliged to comply, by the fear of worſe conſequences, he added a ſalvo for his royal dignity or prerogatives, which, in fact, enervated the force of the charters. Upon this the two earls and their adherents, filled with diſguſt, left the parliament; but on a future occaſion, the king was obliged to grant to the people, a pure

and abſolute confirmation of thoſe laws which were ſo much the object of their affection. Farther ſecurities were even then added, for the eſtabliſhment of national privileges; for each county was ordered to chuſe three knights, who were inveſted with the power of puniſhing every violation of the charters, by fine and impriſonment.

In order to execute the charter of the Foreſts, it was alſo neceſſary to eſtabliſh the bounds of thoſe, which belonged to the crown, and to diſ-foreſt all the lands, which former encroachments had comprehended within their limits. Edward ſhewed the ſame reluctance, to comply with this juſt and equitable demand; and it was not done till after he had made many delays, and received many ſolicitations, and even menaces of war on the part of the barons, that exact boundaries were fixed by the jury in each county to the extent of his foreſts.

While the people, after theſe ſucceſsful ſtruggles, eſteemed themſelves happy in the ſecure poſſeſſion of their privileges, they were, in 1305, ſurprized to find that Edward had ſecretly applied to the court of Rome, and procured an abſolution from all the oaths and engagements, which he had ſo often repeated, to obſerve both the charters. Some hiſtorians have imagined, that this ſtep was taken with no other view, than to acquire the merit of granting a new confirmation of the charters, that could never be invalidated by his ſucceſſors, under the pretence of having ſigned them by force or violence: but though he afterwards ratified

ratified the charters in general, he ſo far made uſe of the pope's bull, as to invalidate the late perambulation of the foreſts, which had been made with the utmoſt care and attention, though he never after attempted to extend their bounds.

Thus was the Great Charter finally eſtabliſhed, after a conteſt ſubſiſting almoſt a whole century, frequently attended with long ſtruggles, and a great expence of blood and treaſure; and the people of England had the honour of extorting, by their perſeverance, this conceſſion; in which, they obtained a confirmation of the privileges to which they were juſtly entitled, from one of the ableſt and moſt warlike of their princes. It is computed, that above thirty confirmations of Magna Charta, were at different times required of ſeveral kings, and granted in full parliament; which is a proof of the laudable and noble zeal with which the people were inſpired in defence of their national rights, and that their anxiety and jealouſy leſt contrary precedents ſhould ever be brought as an authority for infringing them. Hence, though arbitrary practices afterwards frequently prevailed, the validity of the Great Charter was never diſputed; and it is ſtill conſidered as the baſis of the throne of England, and a certain rule by which the authority of every cuſtom is to be tried and canvaſſed.

To return from this digreſſion. Notwithſtanding the king's impatience to carry his arms into Flanders, his embarkation had been ſo long delayed, that he loſt the proper ſeaſon

for action; while the king of France obtained great advantages by his abſence, he invaded the Netherlands, defeated the Flemings at the battle of Furnes, and took Liſle, St. Omers, Courtrai, and Ypres. But Edward, at the head of 50,000 men, put a ſtop to the career of his victories; and all the reſources of Philip being already exhauſted, that prince began to apprehend a reverſe of fortune, and an invaſion on France itſelf. On the other hand, Edward being diſappointed of the aſſiſtance of Adolph, king of the Romans, for which he had paid a high price; and his preſence being neceſſary in England, he was deſirous of putting a period to the war on honourable terms. This diſpoſition in both thoſe princes, in a little time, produced a ceſſation of hoſtilities for two years, and engaged them, in 1298, to make pope Boniface the arbiter of their diſputes.

It is remarkable, that both Edward and Philip were ſo equally jealous, of that pope's taking advantage of their making him judge of the diſputes between them, that they expreſsly aſſerted in their reference, that he was made judge in their quarrel by their own conſent, not by any right of his pontificate, but as a private perſon; and in this view he gave a ſentence in which they both acquieſced. He propoſed that their union ſhould be cemented by a double marriage, and that Edward, who was now a widower, ſhould eſpouſe Margaret, Philip's ſiſter, and the prince of Wales, Iſabella, that monarch's daughter. Philip was willing to reſtore Guienne to the Engliſh; but

but inſiſted that the Scots, with John Baliol, their king, ſhould, as his allies, be reſtored to liberty. To this Edward would not conſent, but after ſeveral diſputes, the difference was compromiſed, Edward conſenting to abandon his ally the earl of Flanders, on condition that Philip ſhould likewiſe abandon his ally the king of Scotland: for the proſpect of conquering countries, whoſe commodious ſituation would render them ſo valuable an acquiſition to their reſpective kingdoms, prevailed over every other conſideration: but they were both finally diſappointed in their hopes.

Edward found it much eaſier to conquer Scotland, than to preſerve that kingdom under his dominion. Thoſe employed as its governors wanted the prudence and moderation neceſſary to reconcile the Scots to a yoke, which, with the extremeſt reluctance, they were conſtrained to bear. The earl of Warrenne, being obliged, on account of his health, to retire into England, left the adminiſtration in the hands of Ormeſby, who had been appointed juſticiary of Scotland, and was a man of a rigorous, auſtere, and imperious diſpoſition, and Creſſingham, who had the office of treaſurer, and who had no other object in view than amaſſing money by injuſtice and rapine. They both treated the Scots as a conquered people, and made them too early ſenſible of their miſerable ſervitude; whilſt they had but a ſmall military force to ſecure their authority. As Edward had ordered that all the proprietors of lands ſhould ſwear fealty to him, all who ventured

to refuſe or delay this act of ſubmiſſion, were outlawed, impriſoned, and puniſhed without mercy; and thus the braveſt men in the nation became exaſperated againſt the Engliſh government.

Mean while an obſcure perſon in the weſt of Scotland roſe to reſtore the liberty of his country. This was William Wallace, a gentleman of a ſmall fortune, though deſcended from an ancient family. Being provoked by the inſolence of an Engliſh officer, he ſlew him, and being, on that account, obnoxious to the reſentment of the Engliſh adminiſtration, he fled into the woods, and became the leader of all thoſe whoſe hatred of the Engliſh, whoſe misfortunes, or whoſe crimes had reduced to the ſame neceſſity. He was of a gigantic ſtature, and extraordinary ſtrength; was poſſeſſed of an heroic courage, diſintereſted magnanimity, amazing patience, and ability to bear fatigue, hunger, and the ſeverities of the ſeaſons; and by his conduct and bravery, ſoon obtained, among thoſe deſperate fugitives, the authority to which he was juſtly intitled by his extraordinary virtues. Prompted by his courage to make a deſperate attempt to deliver his native country from the dominion of foreigners, he began to exert himſelf in ſmall enterprizes, in which, being conſtantly ſucceſsful, he gradually proceeded to thoſe of greater conſequence, conſtantly diſcovering equal caution in ſecuring his followers, and valour, in oppoſing the enemy. His knowledge of the country enabled him, when purſued, to ſecure a re-

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a retreat among the mountains, the foreſts, or the moraſſes; where, again collecting his diſperſed aſſociates, he appeared in places leaſt ſuſpected, and inſtantly ſurprized and routed the unwary Engliſh. Accounts of his great actions were daily received with as much pleaſure by his countrymen, as terror by the enemy. All who aſpired after military fame, were deſirous of having a ſhare in his glory. The ignominy into which the nation had fallen by its tame ſubmiſſion to the Engliſh, appeared to vaniſh; and tho' no noblemen of eminence yet dared to join him, he had obtained that general confidence and regard which meer birth and fortune can never confer.

This brave man having, by many ſucceſsful enterprizes, improved the valour of his followers, reſolved to ſtrike a deciſive blow againſt the government of the Engliſh; and formed a plan for attacking Ormeſby at Scone, and puniſhing him for the violence and tyranny with which he had treated the Scots. That juſticiary being informed of his intentions, haſtily fled into England; and all the other Engliſh officers followed his example: their terror inſpired the Scots with courage and alacrity: they every where flew to arms: Wallace's party was openly countenanced by Sir William Douglas, and many of the principal barons, and the ſame cauſe was ſecretly favoured and promoted by Robert Bruce. Thus the Scots ſhaking off the gauling yoke of an abject ſervitude, prepared to defend, by their united

efforts,

efforts, that liberty which they had ſo unexpectedly recovered.

Warrenne, however, aſſembling in the north of England, an army of 40,000 men, endeavoured, by the celerity of his armament, and a haſty march, to compenſate for his negligence, which had enabled the Scots to free themſelves from the government of the Engliſh; and ſuddenly entering Annandale, came upon them at Irvine, before they had fully collected their forces, and put themſelves in a poſture of defence. Many of the Scotch nobles, alarmed at their ſituation, ſubmitted, repeated their oaths of fealty, conſented to deliver hoſtages for their good behaviour, and were pardoned their paſt offences; and ſome others, as the ſteward of Scotland and the earl of Lenox, reluctantly joined the Engliſh army, waiting for a favourable opportunity to defend their diſtreſſed country. The authority of Wallace over his followers was ſtrengthened by the abſence of the great nobles, and he ſtill obſtinately perſevered; but being unable to give the enemy battle, he marched northwards, in order to prolong the war, and to take advantage of a mountanious and barren country. Warrenne having advanced to Stirling, found Wallace encamped at Cambuſkenneth, on the oppoſite bank of the Forth; and, by the continual ſolicitations of the impatient Creſſingham, who was inflamed, both by perſonal and national animoſities againſt the Scots, prepared to attack them in a ſtation, which the brave and no leſs prudent Wallace had choſen for his army,

army. Notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of Sir Richard Lundy, a Scotſman of birth and family in the Engliſh army, he ordered his forces to paſs a bridge which lay over the Forth. Wallace allowing ſuch a number of the Engliſh to paſs as he thought proper, attacked them before they were fully formed; routed them, puſhed part of them into the river, deſtroying the reſt by the ſword, and obtained a complete victory. Creſſingham himſelf was among the ſlain; and his memory was ſo extremely odious to the Scots, that they flead his dead body, and made girths and ſaddles of his ſkin. Warrenne, after this defeat, finding the remainder of the army which had not paſſed the bridge, and had been ſpectators of the deſtruction of their countrymen, quite diſmayed by this misfortune, was obliged to march ſouthward, and to retire into England; after which, the caſtles of Roxborough and Berwick, which were ill fortified and weakly defended, fell into the hands of the Scots.

The brave Wallace being now univerſally revered as the deliverer of his country, received, from his followers, the office of regent or guardian of the kingdom, under the captive Baliol; when finding that unfavourable ſeaſons, and the ravages of war, had produced a famine in Scotland, perſuaded his army to march into England, to ſubſiſt at the enemy's expence, and to revenge themſelves, by retaliating the injuries they had ſuffered from that hoſtile nation. The Scots, thinking every thing

thing poſſible under ſuch a leader, joyfully conſented; on which Wallace invading the northern counties during winter, laid every place waſte with fire and ſword; and after extending the fury of his ravages on all ſides, without oppoſition, as far as the biſhopric of Durham, marched back into his own country, loaded with ſpoils, and crowned with glory.

Edward was informed of theſe events while in Flanders; when having already concluded a truce with Philip, he haſtened over to England, in order not only to wipe off this diſgrace by his activity and valour, but to recover Scotland, which he always conſidered as the chief glory of his reign.

On his return, he appeaſed the murmurs of the people, by his conceſſions and promiſes; ordered ſtrict enquiry to be made in relation to the corn and other goods, which, before his departure, had been ſeized by violence, as if he intended to pay the value of them to the owners: he reſtored to the citizens of London the power of electing their own magiſtrates, which had been taken from them in the latter part of his father's reign; and by making public profeſſions of his intention to confirm and obſerve the charters, he regained the confidence of his barons.

Edward having rendered himſelf, by theſe popular arts, entirely maſter of his people, he collected the whole military force of England, Wales, and Ireland; and marched to the north with near 100,000 men. It was impoſſible for the Scots to oppoſe Edward at the

the head of ſuch an army, even for one ſeaſon, without being perfectly united among themſelves; but this was ſo far from being the caſe, that jealouſies, faction, and animoſities, diſtracted all the councils of the great. The nobility envied Wallace, on account of his elevation, though purchaſed by ſuch glorious ſervices performed for his country. That brave man was ſenſible of their jealouſy; and dreading leſt their inteſtine diſcords ſhould ruin his country, voluntarily reſigned his authority, retaining only the command of his followers, who being accuſtomed to victory under his ſtandard, refuſed to follow any other leader into the field.

The chief power now devolved on the ſtewart of Scotland, and Cummin of Badenoch, men of high birth, under whom the great chieftans more willingly reſolved to defend their country. Theſe two commanders aſſembling their forces from every quarter, fixed their ſtation at Falkirk, where they propoſed to wait for the Engliſh; and Wallace was at the head of a third body, which acted under his command. The Scotch army were compoſed of pike-men in the front, and the intervals between the three bodies, were interlined with archers. Dreading the advantage the Engliſh might obtain by the great ſuperiority of their cavalry, they endeavoured to ſecure their front by palliſadoes, tied together with ropes.

When Edward arrived within ſight of the Scots, he reſolved to determine the fortune of the war by one deciſive blow; and having alſo

divided

divided his army into three bodies, led them to the attack. The Engliſh archers firſt chaced thoſe of the Scots off the field, and then diſcharging their arrows among the pikemen, who were cooped up within their entrenchments, threw them into diſorder, and thus rendered the aſſault of the Engliſh cavalry and pikemen at once more eaſy and ſucceſsful. The whole Scotch army was, after a great ſlaughter, defeated and put to flight, with the loſs, according to ſome authors, of fifty or ſixty thouſand men. This great battle, which ſeemed to threaten the inevitable ruin of Scotland, was fought on the 22d of July, 1298.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.